



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

US
10448
49



3 2044 011 007 937

Rowlandson. Narrative. 1853

US 10448.49

**Harvard College
Library**



By Exchange

copy

NARRATIVE
OF THE
CAPTIVITY, SUFFERINGS AND REMOVES
OF
MRS. MARY ROWLANDSON,
WHO WAS TAKEN PRISONER BY THE INDIANS AT THE DESTRUCTION
OF LANCASTER IN 1675.

TO WHICH IS APPENDED
A CENTURY SERMON,
PREACHED AT THE
FIRST PARISH IN LANCASTER, MAY 28, 1753,
BY REV. TIMOTHY HARRINGTON.

— — — — —
A REPRINT FROM AN OLD EDITION.
— — — — —

CLINTON:
PUBLISHED BY BALLARD & BYNNER.
1853.

105 10448.49

v



copy exchange.

P R E F A C E .

IN offering to the public a reprint of the following interesting narrative, the publishers believe they are performing an acceptable task ; especially for those resident near the localities of the scenes described. The edition of the work issued by Merriam & Co., of Brookfield, in 1811, was very faulty, and is believed to be nearly out of print. Two or three copies of the edition of 1794, published in Leominster, and now in the hands of old residents of Lancaster, are the only ones known to the publishers, who were unable to obtain a single copy of the edition printed by Carter & Andrews, of the latter town, about the year 1830.

As an authentic tale of trial and suffering rarely exceeded, written in the plain and earnest style which characterized the writings of the early settlers of Massachusetts, it possesses an historical value for the facts embodied in it, heightened by the devout tone of that unwavering faith by which the author was sustained amid her unparalleled peril, and enabled to recount to her friends and the world, the dangers through which she was safely borne by the power of Him ! whose faithful servant she proved herself. Here, in the close vicinage of the ancient town in which she resided, and amid the descendants of many of the persons named, it is to be expected that the work has additional value, while to the general reader, as a veritable and circumstantial account of an historical occurrence, it affords much instruction. In itself—an interesting history, it is eminently attractive and useful to the young, affording to them a true picture of the life of hardship and toil endured by those who cleared the wilderness, and dared the dangers of its occupancy, surrounded by the savage tenants they succeeded.

For him, who now looks upon the quiet beauty of the scenery for which Lancaster is celebrated, its gentle slopes and peaceful vales, through which the placid Nashaway winds its devious way, it seems difficult to realize that the primeval forest then covered its surface, and that the most venerable of the majestic elms which now constitute so important an element of beauty in the landscape, were not yet saplings ! in the days of which the narrative treats. That where once stood only the wigwam of the savage, now stands the Christian edifice, its tall spire pointing to the abode of that God by whose mercy our fathers were enabled to bequeath to their posterity so fair a heritage ;—that of the powerful tribes who watched with jeal-

ous eye the settlement they destroyed with a hand so ruthless,—not one remains. Their very memory having passed away; while in their stead have congregated peaceful, populous, and industrial communities, fostered by the hand of civilization, worshiping the true God! and having for their monuments the churches and school-houses, in which have been inculcated those precepts,—the practice whereof has led them to results so glorious!

To the contemplative, to whom such are pleasant reflections, this narrative is one of peculiar interest, and will be welcomed by all who have not yet perused it, while by those to whom the tale and the scenes are familiar, it will be cherished as a household record. The present has been thought a favorable time for its re-publication, when, on the eve of the contemplated gathering of the sons and daughters of old Lancaster, on the occasion of the celebration of its Two Hundredth Anniversary, everything of an historical nature connected with the town will be so eagerly sought and appreciated; and the publishers feel that they may safely rely upon such considerations for the sale of the work.

Appended to the narrative of Mrs. Rowlandson, will be found A CENTURY SERMON, preached to the First Parish of Lancaster, by the Rev. Timothy Harrington, in 1758, which, apart from its intrinsic merit, will be acceptable from the associations connected with it, and the historical information it contains.

Clinton, May, 1858.

NARRATIVE
OF THE
CAPTIVITY, SUFFERINGS AND REMOVES
OF
MRS. MARY ROWLANDSON.

On the 10th of February, 1675, the Indians, in great numbers, came upon Lancaster. Their first coming was about sun-rising; hearing the noise of some guns, we looked out; several houses were burning, and the smoke ascending to heaven. There were five persons taken in one house, the father, the mother, and a sucking child they knocked on the head; the other two they took and carried away alive. There were two others, who being out of the garrison upon occasion, were set upon; one was knocked on the head, the other escaped: another there was, who, running along, was shot and wounded, and fell down; he begged of them his life, promising them money, (as they told me,) but they would not hearken to him, knocked him on the head, stripped him naked, and ripped open his bowels. Another, seeing many of the Indians about his barn, ventured out, but was quickly shot down. There were three others belonging to the same garrison, who were killed; the Indians getting up on the roof of the barn, had advantage to shoot down upon them over their fortification. Thus these murderous wretches went on burning and destroying all before them.

At length they came and beset our own house, and quickly it was the dolefullest day that ever mine eyes saw. The house stood upon the edge of a hill; some of the Indians got behind the hill, others into the barn, and others behind any thing that would shelter them; from all which places they shot against the house, so

that the bullets seemed to fly like hail ; and quickly they wounded one man among us, then another, and then a third. About two hours (according to my observation in that amazing time) they had been about the house before they prevailed to fire it, (which they did with flax and hemp which they brought out of the barn, and there being no defence about the house, only two flankers at two opposite corners, and one of them not finished, they fired it once, and one ventured out and quenched it, but they quickly fired it again, and that took. Now is the dreadful hour come, that I have often heard of (in the time of the war, as was the case with others) but now mine eyes see it. Some in our house were fighting for their lives, others wallowing in their blood, the house on fire over our heads, and the bloody heathen ready to knock us on the head if we stirred out. Now might we hear mothers and children crying out for themselves, and one another, *Lord, what shall we do!* Then I took my children (and one of my sisters her's) to go forth and leave the house : but as soon as we came to the door, and appeared, the Indians shot so thick, that the bullets rattled against the house, as if one had taken an handful of stones and threw them, so that we were forced to give back. We had six stout dogs belonging to our garrison, but none of them would stir, though at another time, if an Indian had come to the door, they were ready to fly upon him and tear him down. The Lord hereby would make us the more to acknowledge his hand, and to see that our help is always in him. But out we must go, the fire increasing, and coming along behind us, roaring, and the Indians gaping before us with their guns, spears, and hatchets, to devour us. No sooner were we out of the house, but my brother-in-law (being before wounded, in defending the house, in or near the throat) fell down dead, whereat the Indians scornfully shouted, and hallooed, and were presently upon him, stripping off his clothes. The bullets flying thick, one went through my side, and the same (as it would seem) through the bowels and hand of my poor child in my arms. One of my elder sister's children (named William) had then his leg broke, which

the Indians perceiving, they knocked him on the head. Thus were we butchered by those merciless heathens, standing amazed, with the blood running down to our heels. My elder sister being yet in the house, and seeing those woful sights, the infidels hauling mothers one way, and children another, and some wallowing in their blood, and her eldest son telling her that her son William was dead, and myself wounded, she said, *Lord, let me die with them*: which was no sooner said, but she was struck with a bullet, and fell down dead over the threshold. I hope she is reaping the fruit of her good labors, being faithful to the service of God in her place. In her younger years she lay under much trouble upon spiritual accounts, till it pleased God to make that precious scripture take hold of her heart, 2 Cor. xii. 9. And he said unto me, my grace is sufficient for thee. More than twenty years after, I have heard her tell how sweet and comfortable that place was to her. But to return; the Indians laid hold of us, pulling me one way, and the children another; and said, "Come, go along with us." I told them they would kill me; they answered, if I were willing to go along with them, they would not hurt me.

Oh! the doleful sight that now was to behold at this house! Come, behold the works of the Lord, what desolations he has made in the earth. Of thirty-seven persons who were in this one house, none escaped either present death, or a bitter captivity, save only one, who might say as in Job i. 15. And I only am escaped alone to tell the news. There were twelve killed, some shot, some stabbed with their spears, some knocked down with their hatchets. When we are in prosperity, oh, the little that we think of such dreadful sights, to see our dear friends and relations lie bleeding out their heart's blood upon the ground. There was one who was chopped into the head with a hatchet, and stripped naked, and yet was crawling up and down. It is a solemn sight to see so many Christians lying in their blood, some here and some there, like a company of sheep torn by wolves. All of them stripped naked by a company of hell-hounds, roaring, singing, ranting and

insulting, as if they would have torn our very hearts out; yet the Lord by his almighty power, preserved a number of us from death, for there were twenty-four of us taken alive and carried captive.

I had often before this said, that if the Indians should come, I should choose rather to be killed by them, than taken alive; but when it came to the trial, my mind changed; their glittering weapons so daunted my spirits, that I chose rather to go along with those (as I may say) ravenous bears, than that morning to end my days. And that I may the better declare what happened to me during that grievous captivity, I shall particularly speak of the several Removes we had up and down the wilderness.

THE FIRST REMOVE.—Now we must go with those barbarous creatures, with our bodies wounded and bleeding, and our hearts no less than our bodies. About a mile we went that night, up upon a hill within sight of the town, where they intended to lodge. There was hard by a vacant house, deserted by the English before, for fear of the Indians, I asked them whether I might not lodge in the house that night, to which they answered, what, will you love Englishmen still? This was the dolefullest night that ever my eyes saw. Oh the roaring and singing, dancing and yelling of those black creatures in the night, which made the place a lively resemblance of hell; and as miserable was the waste that was there made, of horses, cattle, sheep, swine, calves, lambs, roasting pigs, and fowls, (which they had plundered in the town,) some roasting, some lying and burning, and some boiling, to feed our merciless enemies, who were joyful enough, though we were disconsolate. To add to the dolefulness of the former day, and the dismalness of the present night, my thoughts ran upon my losses and sad bereaved condition. All was gone, my husband gone, (at least separated from me, he being in the bay; and to add to my grief, the Indians told me they would kill him as he came homeward;) my children gone, my relations and friends gone, our house and home, and all our comforts within

door and without, all was gone, (except my life,) and I knew not but the next moment that might go too.

There remained nothing to me but one poor wounded babe, and it seemed at present worse than death, that it was in such a pitiful condition, bespeaking compassion, and I had no refreshing for it, nor suitable things to revive it. Little do many think, what is the savageness and brutishness of this barbarous enemy, even those that seem to profess more than others among them, when the English have fallen into their hands.

Those seven that were killed at Lancaster the summer before, upon a Sabbath day, and the one who was afterwards killed upon a week day, were slain and mangled in a most barbarous manner by one-eyed John, and Marlborough's praying Indians, which Capt. Moseley brought to Boston, as the Indians told me.

THE SECOND REMOVE.—But now (the next morning) I must turn my back upon the town, and travel with them into the vast and desolate wilderness, I know not whither. It is not my tongue nor pen can express the sorrows of my heart, and bitterness of my spirit, that I had at this departure: but God was with me in a wonderful manner, carrying me along, and bearing up my spirit, that it did not quite fail. One of the Indians carried my poor wounded babe upon a horse; it went moaning all along, I shall die, I shall die. I went on foot after it, with sorrow that cannot be expressed. At length I took it off the horse, and carried it in my arms, till my strength failed, and I fell down with it. Then they set me upon a horse, with my wounded child in my lap, and there being no furniture on the horse's back, as we were going down a steep hill, we both fell over the horse's head at which they like inhuman creatures laughed, and rejoiced to see it, though I thought we should there have ended our days, overcome with so many difficulties. But the Lord renewed my strength still, and carried me along that I might see more of His power; yea, so much that I could never have thought of, had I not experienced it.

After this, it quickly began to snow, and when night

came on, they stopped ; and now down must I sit in the snow by a little fire, and a few boughs behind me, with my sick child in my lap, and calling much for water, being now (through the wound) fallen into a violent fever. My own wound also growing so stiff, that I could scarce sit down or rise up, yet so it must be, that I must sit all this cold winter night, upon the cold snowy ground, with my sick child in my arms, looking that every hour would be the last of its life, and having no Christian friend near me, either to comfort or help me. Oh, I may see the wonderful power of God, that my spirit did not utterly sink under my afflictions ; still the Lord upheld me with his gracious and merciful spirit, and we were both alive to see the light of the next morning.

THE THIRD REMOVE. — The morning being come, they prepared to go on their way ; one of the Indians got up on a horse, and they set me up behind him, with my poor sick babe in my lap. A very wearisome and tedious day I had of it ; what with my own wound, and my child being so exceedingly sick, and in a lamentable condition with her wound, it may easily be judged what a poor feeble condition we were in, there being not the least crumb of refreshment that came within either of our mouths from Wednesday night to Saturday night, except only a little cold water. This day in the afternoon, about an hour by sun, we came to the place where they intended, viz., an Indian town called Wenimmeset, northward of Quabaug. When we were come, oh the number of pagans (our merciless enemies) that there came about me ! I might say as David, *Psa. xxvii. 13. I had fainted, unless I had believed, &c.* The next day was the Sabbath ; I then remembered how careless I had been of God's holy time ; how many Sabbaths I had lost and misspent, and how evilly I had walked in God's sight ; which lay so closely upon my spirit, that it was easy for me to see how righteous it was with God to cut off the thread of my life, and cast me out of his presence forever. Yet the Lord still shewed mercy to me, and helped me ; and as he wound-

ed me with one hand, so he healed with the other. This day there came to me one Robert Pepper, (a man belonging to Roxbury,) who was taken at Capt. Beers' fight; and had been a considerable time with the Indians, and up with them almost as far as Albany, to see King Philip, as he told me, and was now very lately come with them into these parts. Hearing that I was in this Indian town, he obtained leave to come and see me. He told me he himself was wounded in the leg at Capt. Beers' fight and was not able for some time to go, but as they carried him, and that he took oak leaves and laid on his wounds; and by the blessing of God, he was able to travel again. Then I took oak leaves and laid on my side, and with the blessing of God it cured me also; yet before the cure was wrought, I might say as it is Psa. xxxviii. 5, 6. *My wounds stink and are corrupt, I am troubled, I am bound down greatly, I go mourning all the day long.* I sat much alone with my poor wounded child in my lap, which moaned night and day, having nothing to revive the body, or cheer the spirits of her; but instead of that, one Indian would come and tell me one hour, your master will knock your child on the head; and then a second, and then a third, your master will quickly knock your child on the head.

This was the comfort I had from them; miserable comforters were they all. Thus nine days I sat upon my knees, with my babe in my lap, till my flesh was raw. My child being even ready to depart this sorrowful world, they bid me carry it out to another wigwam, (I suppose because they would not be troubled with such spectacles,) whither I went with a very heavy heart, and down I sat with the picture of death in my lap. In about two hours, in the night, my sweet babe like a lamb, departed this life, on February 18, 1675, it being about six years and five months old. It was nine days from the first wounding in this miserable condition, without any refreshing of one nature or other, except a little cold water. I cannot but take notice, how at another time I could not bear to be in the room where any dead person was, but now the case is changed; I must, and

could lie down by my dead babe all the night after. I have thought since of the wonderful goodness of God to me, in preserving me so in the use of my reason and senses in that distressing time, that I did not use wicked and violent means to end my own miserable life. In the morning, when they understood that my child was dead, they sent for me home to my master's wigwam, (by my master, must be understood Quanopin, who was a Sagamore, and married King Phillip's wife's sister; not that he took me, but I was sold to him by a Narragansett Indian, who took me when I first came out of the garrison.) I went to take up my dead child in my arms to carry it with me, but they bade me let it alone,—there was no resisting, but go I must and leave it. When I had been a while at my master's wigwam, I took the first opportunity I could get, to go and look after my dead child. When I came, I asked them what they had done with it? they told me it was upon the hill,—then they went and shewed me where it was, where I saw the ground was newly digged, and where they told me they had buried it. There I left that child in the wilderness, committing it, and myself also, in this wilderness condition, to Him who is above all. God having taken away this dear child, I went to see my daughter Mary, who was at this same Indian town, at a wigwam not very far off, though we had little liberty or opportunity to see one another; she was about ten years old, and taken from the door at first by a praying Indian, and afterwards sold for a gun. When I came in sight, she would fall a-weeping, at which they were provoked, and would not let me come near her, but bid me be gone, which was a heart-cutting word to me. I had one child dead, another in the wilderness, I knew not where, the third they would not let me come near to. *Me (as he said) have ye bereaved of my children, Joseph is not, and Simeon is not, and ye will take Benjamin also, all these things are against me.* I could not sit still in this condition, but kept walking from one place to another. And as I was going along, my heart was even overwhelmed with the thoughts of my condition, and that I should have children, and a nation that I knew

not, rule over them. Whereupon I earnestly entreated the Lord that he would consider my low estate, and shew me a token for good, and if it were his blessed will, some sign and hope of some relief.

And indeed quickly the Lord answered, in some measure, my poor prayer; for as I was going up and down, mourning and lamenting my condition, my son came to me, and asked me how I did? I had not seen him before, since the destruction of the town; and I knew not where he was, till I was informed by himself, that he was amongst a smaller parcel of Indians, whose place was about six miles off. With tears in his eyes, he asked me whether his sister Sarah was dead? and told me he had seen his sister Mary, and prayed me, that I would not be troubled in reference to himself. The occasion of his coming to see me at this time was this: There was, as I said, about six miles from us, a small plantation of Indians, where it seems he had been during his captivity, and at this time, there were some forces of the Indians gathered out of our company, and some also from them, (amongst whom was my son's master,) to go to assault and burn Medfield. In this time of his master's absence, his dame brought him to see me. I took this to be some gracious answer to my earnest and unfeigned desire.

The next day the Indians returned from Medfield; (all the company, for those that belonged to the other smaller company came through the town that now we were at.) But before they came to us, oh the outrageous roaring and whooping that there was! They began their din about a mile before they came to us. By their noise and whooping, they signified how many they had destroyed, (which was at that time twenty-three.) Those that were with us, at home, were gathered together as soon as they heard the whooping, and every time that the other went over their number, these at home gave a shout, that the very earth rang again. And thus they continued till those that had been upon the expedition were come up to the Sagamore's wigwam; and then, oh the hideous, insulting and triumphing that there was over some Englishmen's scalps that

they had taken (as their manner is) and brought with them. I cannot but take notice of the wonderful mercy of God to me in those afflictions, in sending me a Bible. One of the Indians that came from Medfield fight, and had brought some plunder, came to me and asked me if I would have a Bible, for he had got one in his basket. I was glad of it, and asked him if he thought the Indians would let me read? He answered, yes; so I took the Bible, and in that melancholy time, it came into my mind to read first the 28th chapter of Deuteronomy, which I did, and when I had read it, my dark heart wrought on this manner: That there was no mercy for me, that the blessings were gone, and the curses came in their room, and that I had lost my opportunity. But the Lord helped me still to go on reading, till I came to chap. 30, the seven first verses, where I found there was mercy promised again, if we would return to Him, by repentance; and though we were scattered from one end of the earth to the other, yet the Lord would gather us together, and turn all those curses upon our enemies. I do not desire to live to forget this scripture, and what comfort it was to me.

Now the Indians began to talk of removing from this place, some one way, and some another. There were now besides myself, nine English captives in this place, (all of them children, except one woman;) I got an opportunity to go and take my leave of them, they being to go one way and I another. I asked them whether they were earnest with God for deliverance, they all told me they did as they were able, and it was some comfort to me, that the Lord stirred up children to look to him. The woman, viz., Goodwife Joslin, told me, she should never see me again, and that she could find in her heart to run away. I desired her not to run away by any means, for we were near thirty miles from any English town, and she very big with child, having but one week to reckon; and another child in her arms, two years old, and bad rivers there were to go over, and we were feeble with our poor and coarse entertainment. I had my Bible with me, I pulled it out, and asked her whether she would read. We

opened the Bible, and lighted on Psa. xxvii., in which Psalm we especially took notice of that verse, *Wait on the Lord, be of good courage, and he shall strengthen thine heart ; wait I say on the Lord.*

THE FOURTH REMOVE. — And now must I part with that little company that I had ? Here I parted from my daughter Mary, (whom I never saw again till I saw her in Dorchester, returned from captivity,) and from four little cousins and neighbors, some of whom I never saw afterward, the Lord only knows the end of them. Among them also was that poor woman before mentioned, who came to a sad end, as some of the company told me in my travel ; she having much grief upon her spirits, about her miserable condition, being so near her time, she would be often asking the Indians to let her go home ; they not being willing for that, and yet vexed with her importunity, gathered a great company together about her, and stript her naked, and set her in the midst of them, and when they had sung and danced about her (in their hellish manner) as long as they pleased, they knocked her on her head, and the child in her arms with her. When they had done that, they made a fire and put them both into it, and told the other children that were with them, that if they attempted to go home they would serve them in like manner. The children said she did not shed one tear, but prayed all the while. But to return to my own journey. We travelled about half a day, or a little more, and came to a desolate place in the wilderness, where there were no wigwams nor inhabitants before. We came about the middle of the afternoon to this place ; cold and wet, snowy, hungry and weary, and no refreshing (for man) but the cold ground to sit on, and our poor Indian cheer.

Heart-aching thoughts here I had about my poor children who were scattered up and down among the wild beasts of the forest. My head was light and dizzy, (either through hunger or bad lodging, or trouble, or all together,) my knees feeble, my body raw by sitting double, night and day, so that I cannot express to man the affliction that lay upon my spirit, but the Lord

helped me at that time to express it to himself. I opened my Bible to read, and the Lord brought that precious scripture to me, Jer. xxxi. 16. *Thus saith the Lord, refrain thy voice from weeping, and thine eyes from tears, for thy work shall be rewarded, and they shall come again from the land of the enemy.* This was a sweet cordial to me, when I was ready to faint. Many and many times, I sat down, and wept sweetly over this scripture. At this place we continued about four days.

THE FIFTH REMOVE. — The occasion (as I thought) of their moving at this time, was the English army's being near, and following them; for they went as if they had gone for their lives, for some considerable way, and then they made a stop, and chose out some of their stoutest men and sent them back to hold the English army in play whilst the rest escaped; and then, like Jehu, they marched on furiously, with their old and young; some carried their old decrepid mothers, some carried one and some another. Four of them carried a great Indian upon a bier, but going through a thick wood with him, they were hindered, and could make no haste; whereupon they took him upon their backs, and carried him, one at a time, till we came to Bacquag river. Upon a Friday, a little after noon, we came to this river. When all the company were come up and were gathered together, I thought to count the number of them, but they were so many, and being somewhat in motion, it was beyond my skill. In this travel, because of my wound, I was somewhat favored in my load. I carried only my knitting-work, and two-quarts of parched meal. Being very faint, I asked my mistress to give me one spoonful of the meal, but she would not give me a taste. They quickly fell to cutting dry trees, to make rafts to carry them over the river, and soon my turn came to go over. By the advantage of some brush which they had laid upon the raft to sit on, I did not wet my feet, (while many of them at the other end were mid-leg deep,) which cannot but be acknowledged as a favor of God to my weakened body, it being a very cold time. I was not before ac-

acquainted with such kind of doings or dangers. *When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee, and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee.* Isaiah xliii. 2. A certain number of us got over the river that night, but it was the night after the Sabbath before all the company got over. On the Saturday they boiled an old horse's leg which they had found, and so we drank of the broth, as soon as they thought it was ready, and when it was almost all gone, they filled it up again.

The first week of my being among them, I hardly ate anything; the second week I found my stomach grew very faint for want of something, and yet it was very hard to get down their filthy trash; but the third week (though I could think how formerly my stomach would turn against this or that, and I could starve and die before I could eat such things, yet) they were pleasant and savory to my taste. I was at this time knitting a pair of white cotton stockings for my mistress, and I had not yet wrought upon the Sabbath day. When the Sabbath came, they bade me go to my work; I told them it was Sabbath-day, and desired them to let me rest, and told them I would do as much more to-morrow; to which they answered me, they would break my face. And here I cannot but take notice of the strange providence of God in preserving the heathen; they were many hundreds, old and young, some sick and some lame, many had papposes at their backs; the greatest number (at this time with us) were squaws, and they travelled with all they had, bag and baggage, and yet they got over the river aforesaid, and on Monday they set their wigwams on fire, and away they went. On that very day came the English army after them to this river, and saw the smoke of their wigwams; but this river put a stop to them. God did not give them courage or activity to go over after us. We were not ready for so great a mercy as victory and deliverance; if we had been, God would have found out a way for the English to have passed this river, as well as for the Indians with their squaws and children, and all their luggage. *Oh that my people had hearkened unto me, and Israel had walked in my ways, I should soon have subdued*

their enemies, and turned my hand against their adversaries. Psa. lxxxii. 13, 14.

THE SIXTH REMOVE. — On Monday (as I said) they set their wigwams on fire, and went away. It was a cold morning, and before us there was a great brook with ice on it; some waded through it, up to the knees and higher, but others went till they came to a beaver dam, and I among them, where, through the good providence of God, I did not wet my feet. I went along that day, mourning and lamenting, leaving farther my own country and travelling farther into the vast and howling wilderness, and I understood something of Lot's wife's temptation, when she looked back. We came that day to a swamp, by the side of which we took up our lodging that night. When we came to the brow of the hill that looked toward the swamp, I thought we had come to a great Indian town. Though there were none but our own company, the Indians appeared as thick as the trees; it seemed as if there had been a thousand hatchets going at once: if one looked before, there were nothing but Indians; and behind, nothing but Indians, and from either hand, and I myself in the midst and no Christian soul near me; and yet how hath the Lord preserved me in safety! Oh the experience that I have had of the goodness of God to me and mine!

THE SEVENTH REMOVE. — After a restless and hungry night there, we had a wearisome time of it the next day. The swamp, by which we lay, was as it were a deep dungeon, and a very high and steep hill before it. Before I got to the top of the hill, I thought that my heart, legs, and all would have broken, and failed me. What through faintness and soreness of body, it was a grievous day of travel to me. As we went along, I saw a place where English cattle had been; that was comfort to me, such as it was. Quickly after that, we came to an English path, which so took with me, that I thought I could there have freely lain down and died. That day, a little after noon, we came to Squauheag, where the Indians quickly spread themselves over the

deserted English fields, gleaning what they could find ; some picked up ears of wheat, that were crickled down, some found ears of Indian corn, some found ground-nuts, and others sheaves of wheat, that were frozen together in the shock, and went to threshing them out. I got two ears of Indian corn, and whilst I did but turn my back, one of them was stolen from me, which much troubled me. There came an Indian to them at that time, with a basket of horse-liver ; I asked him to give me a piece. What, says he, can you eat horse-liver ? I told him I would try, if he would give me a piece, which he did, and I laid it on the coals to roast, but before it was half ready, they got half of it away from me ; so that I was forced to take the rest and eat it as it was, with the blood about my mouth, and yet a savory bit it was to me ; for to the hungry soul every bitter thing is sweet. A solemn sight, methought it was, to see whole fields of wheat and Indian corn forsaken and spoiled, and the remainders of them to be food for our merciless enemies. That night we had a mess of wheat for supper.

THE EIGHTH REMOVE. — On the morrow morning we must go over Connecticut river to meet with King Philip ; two canoes full they had carried over, the next turn myself was to go ; but as my foot was upon the canoe to step in, there was a sudden out-cry among them, and I must step back ; and instead of going up the river, I must go four or five miles farther northward. Some of the Indians ran one way and some another. The cause of this rout was, as I thought, their espying some English scouts, who were thereabouts. In this travel, about noon, the company made a stop, and sat down, some to eat, and others to rest them. As I sat amongst them, musing on things past, my son Joseph unexpectedly came to me : we asked of each other's welfare, bemoaning our doleful condition, and the change that had come upon us ; we had had husband, and father, and children, and sisters, and friends, and relations, and house, and home, and many comforts of this life ; but now might we say with Job, *Naked came I out*

of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return. The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord. I asked him whether he would read? he told me, he earnestly desired it. I gave him my Bible, and he lighted upon that comfortable scripture, *Psa. cxviii. 17, 18. I shall not die, but live, and declare the works of the Lord: The Lord hath chastened me sore, yet he hath not given me over to death.* Look here, mother, (said he,) did you read this? And here I may take occasion to mention one principal ground of my setting forth these few lines, even as the Psalmist says,—to declare the works of the Lord, and his wonderful power in carrying us along, preserving us in the wilderness, while under the enemy's hand, and returning of us in safety again; and his goodness in bringing to my hand so many comfortable and suitable scriptures in my distress.

But to return: We travelled on, till night, and in the morning we must go over the river to Philip's crew. When I was in the canoe, I could not but be amazed at the numerous crew of pagans that were on the bank on the other side. When I came ashore, they gathered all about me, I sitting alone in the midst. I observed they asked one another questions, and laughed, and rejoiced over their gains and victories. Then my heart began to fail, and I fell a-weeping; which was the first time, to my remembrance, that I wept before them; although I had met with so much affliction, and my heart was many times ready to break, yet could I not shed one tear in their sight, but rather had been all this while in a maze, and like one astonished; but now I may say as *Psa. cxxxvii., 1. By the river of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept, when we remembered Zion.* There one of them asked me, why I wept? I could hardly tell what to say, yet I answered, they would kill me. No, said he, none will hurt you. Then came one of them, and gave me two spoonfuls of meal, to comfort me; and another gave me half a pint of peas, which was more worth than many bushels at another time. Then I went to see King Philip; he bid me come in, and sit down, and asked me whether I would smoke it? (a usual compliment now-a-days, among

saints and sinners.) But this no way suited me. For though I had formerly used tobacco, yet I had left it ever since I was first taken. It seems to be a bait the devil lays, to make men lose their precious time. I remember, with shame, how formerly, when I had taken two or three pipes, I was perfectly ready for another; such a bewitching thing it is; but I thank God, he has now given me power over it; surely there are many who may be better employed, than to sit sucking a stinking tobacco-pipe.

Now the Indians gathered their forces to go against Northampton. Over night one went about yelling and hooting to give notice of the design. Whereupon they went to boiling of ground-nuts, and parching of corn, (as many as had it,) for their provision, and in the morning away they went. During my abode in this place, Philip spake to me to make a shirt for his boy, which I did, for which he gave me a shilling; I offered the money to my master, but he bid me keep it, and with it I bought a piece of horse-flesh. Afterwards he asked me to make a cap for his boy, for which he invited me to dinner; I went, and he gave me a pancake, about as big as two fingers; it was made of parched wheat, beaten and fried in bear's grease, but I thought I never tasted pleasanter food in my life. There was a squaw who spake to me to make a shirt for her sannup, for which she gave me a piece of bear. Another asked me to knit a pair of stockings, for which she gave me a quart of peas. I boiled my peas and bear together, and invited my master and mistress to dinner; but the proud gossip, because I served them both in one dish, would eat nothing, except one bit that he gave her upon the point of his knife.

Hearing that my son was come to this place, I went to see him, and found him laying flat upon the ground. I asked him how he could sleep so? he answered me, that he was not asleep, but at prayer, and that he lay so, that they might not observe what he was doing. I pray God he may remember these things now he is returned in safety. At this place, (the sun now getting higher,) what with the beams and heat of the sun, and

the smoke of the wigwams, I thought I should have been blind. I could scarcely discern one wigwam from another. There was here one Mary Thurston of Medfield, who seeing how it was with me, lent me a hat to wear; but as soon as I was gone, the squaw who owned that Mary Thurston, came running after me, and got it away again. Here was a squaw who gave me a spoonful of meal; I put it into my pocket to keep it safely, yet somebody stole it, but put five Indian corns in the room of it; which corns were the greatest provision I had in my travel for one day.

The Indians returning from Northampton, brought with them some horses and sheep, and other things which they had taken; I desired them that they would carry me to Albany upon one of those horses, and sell me for powder; for so they had sometimes discoursed. I was utterly hopeless of getting home on foot, the way that I came. I could hardly bear to think of the many weary steps I had taken, to come to this place.

THE NINTH REMOVE. — But instead of going either to Albany or homeward, we must go five miles up the river, and then go over it. Here we abode a while. Here lived a sorry Indian who spake to me to make him a shirt; when I had done it, he would pay me nothing for it. But he lived by the river side, where I often went to fetch water; I would often be putting him in mind, and calling for my pay. At last he told me, if I would make another shirt for a pappoose not yet born, he would give me a knife, which he did, when I had done it. I carried the knife in, and my master asked me to give it to him, and I was not a little glad that I had anything that they would accept of and be pleased with. When we were at this place, my master's maid came home; she had been gone three weeks into the Narraganset country to fetch corn, where they had stored up some in the ground; she brought home about a peck and an half of corn. This was about the time that their great captain (Naananto) was killed in the Narraganset country.

My son being now about a mile from me, I asked lib-

erty to go and see him ; they bade me go, and away I went. But quickly I lost myself, travelling over hills and through swamps, and could not find the way to him. And I cannot but admire at the wonderful power and goodness of God to me in that thought I was gone from home, and met with all sorts of Indians, and those I had no knowledge of, and there being no Christian soul near me, yet not one of them offered the least imaginable miscarriage to me. I turned homeward again, and met my master, and he showed me the way to my son. When I came to him I found him not well ; and withal he had a boil on his side, which much troubled him ; we bemoaned one another a while, as the Lord helped us, and then I returned again. When I was returned, I found myself as unsatisfied as I was before. I went up and down mourning and lamenting, and my spirit was ready to sink, with the thoughts of my poor children. My son was ill, and I could not but think of his mournful looks, having no Christian friend near him to do any office of love for him, either for soul or body. And my poor girl, I knew not where she was, whether she was sick or well, alive or dead. I repaired under these thoughts to my Bible, (my great comforter in that time,) and that scripture came to my hand, *Cast thy burden upon the Lord, and he shall sustain thee.* *Psa. lv., 22.*

But I was fain to go and look after something to satisfy my hunger ; and going among the wigwams, I went into one, and there found a squaw who showed herself very kind to me, and gave me a piece of bear. I put it into my pocket, and came home, but could not find an opportunity to broil it, for fear they should get it from me ; and there it lay all that day and night in my stinking pocket. In the morning I went again to the same squaw, who had a kettle of ground-nuts boiling ; I asked her to let me boil my piece of bear in the kettle, which she did, and gave me some ground-nuts to eat with it, and I cannot but think how pleasant it was to me. I have sometimes seen bear baked handsomely among the English, and some liked it ; but the thoughts that it was bear, made me tremble. But now that was

savory to me that one would think was enough to turn the stomach of a brute creature.

One bitter cold day, I could find no room to sit down before the fire; I went out and could not tell what to do, but I went into another wigwam, where they were all sitting round the fire; but the squaw laid a skin for me and bade me sit down, and gave me some ground-nuts, and bade me come again, and told me they would buy me if they were able; and yet they were strangers to me that I never knew before.

THE TENTH REMOVE. — That day a small part of the company removed about three quarters of a mile, intending farther the next day. When they came to the place where they intended to lodge and had pitched their wigwams, being hungry, I went again back to the place we were before at, to get something to eat,—being encouraged by the squaw's kindness, who bade me come again. When I was there, there came an Indian to look after me, who, when he had found me, kicked me all along. I went home and found venison roasting that night, but they would not give me one bit of it. Sometimes I met with favor, and sometimes with nothing but frowns.

THE ELEVENTH REMOVE. — The next day, in the morning, they took their travel, intending a day's journey up the river; I took my load at my back, and quickly we came to wade over a river, and passed over tiresome and wearisome hills. One hill was so steep, that I was fain to creep up upon my knees, and to hold by the twigs and bushes to keep myself from falling backward. My head also was so light, that I usually reeled as I went. But I hope all those wearisome steps that I have taken, are but a forwarding of me to the heavenly rest. *I know, O Lord, that thy judgments are right, and that thou in faithfulness hast afflicted me.* Psa. cxix., 75.

THE TWELFTH REMOVE. — It was upon a Sabbath-day morning, that they prepared for their travel. This morning I asked my master whether he would sell me

to my husband? he answered *Nux*; which did much rejoice my spirit. My mistress, before we went, was gone to the burial of a pappoose, and returning, she found me sitting, and reading my Bible; she snatched it hastily out of my hand, and threw it out of doors; I ran out and caught it up, and put it into my pocket, and never let her see it afterward. Then they packed up their things to be gone, and gave me my load. I complained it was too heavy, whereupon she gave me a slap on the face, and bid me be gone. I lifted up my heart to God, hoped that redemption was not far off; and the rather because their insolence grew worse and worse.

But thoughts of my going homeward, (for so we bent our course,) much cheered my spirit, and made my burden seem light, and almost nothing at all. But (to my amazement and great perplexity) the scale was soon turned; for when we had gone a little way, on a sudden my mistress give out, she would go no further, but turn back again, and said I must go back again with her, and she called her sannup, and would have had him go back also, but he would not; but said he would go on, and come to us again in three days. My spirit was upon this (I confess) very impatient, and almost outrageous. I thought I could as well have died as went back. I cannot declare the trouble that I was in about it; but yet back again I must go. As soon as I had an opportunity, I took my Bible to read,—and that quieting scripture came to my hand, *Psa. xlv. 10, Be still and know that I am God*, which stilled my spirit for the present; but a sore time of trial I concluded I had to go through. My master being gone, who seemed to me my best friend that I had of an Indian, both in cold and hunger, and quickly so it proved. Down I sat with my heart as full as it could hold, and yet so hungry, that I could not sit neither; but going out to see what I could find, and walking among the trees, I found six acoras and two chestnuts, which were some refreshment to me. Toward night I gathered me some sticks for my own comfort, that I might not lie cold, but when we come to lie down, they bid me go

out and lie somewhere else, for they had company, they said, come in, more than their own. I told them I could not tell where to go, they bid me go and look. I told them if I went to another wigwam, they would be angry and send me home again. Then one of the company drew his sword, and told me he would run me through if I did not go presently. Then was I fain to stoop to this rude fellow, and go out in the night I knew not whither. Mine eyes have seen that fellow afterwards walking up and down in Boston, under the appearance of a friendly Indian, and several others of the like cut. I went to one wigwam, and they told me they had no room. Then I went to another, and they said the same. At last an old Indian bid me come to him, and his squaw gave me some ground-nuts ; she gave me also something to lay under my head, and a good fire we had ; through the good Providence of God, I had a comfortable lodging that night. In the morning another Indian bid me come at night, and he would give me six ground-nuts, which I did. We were at this place and time about two miles from Connecticut river. We went in the morning (to gather ground-nuts) to the river, and went back again at night. I went with a great load at my back, (for they, when they went, though but a little way, would carry all their trumpery with them.) I told them the skin was off my back, but I had no other comforting answer from them than this, that it would be no matter if my head was off too.

THE THIRTEENTH REMOVE. — Instead of going toward the bay, (which was what I desired,) I must go with them five or six miles down the river, into a mighty thicket of brush, where we abode almost a fortnight.— Here one asked me to make a shirt for her pappoose, for which she gave me a mess of broth, which was thickened with meal made of the bark of a tree ; and to make it the better, she had put into it about a handful of peas, and a few roasted ground-nuts. I had not seen my son a good while, and here was an Indian of whom I made enquiry after him, and asked him when he saw him ? He answered me, that such a time his master roasted

him, and that himself did eat a piece of him as big as his two fingers, and that he was very good meat. But the Lord upheld my spirit under this discouragement ; and I considered their horrible addictedness to lying, and that there is not one of them that makes the least conscience of speaking the truth.

In this place, one cold night, as I lay by the fire, I removed a stick which kept the heat from me, a squaw moved it down again, at which I looked up, and she threw a handful of ashes in my eyes ; I thought I should have been quite blinded, and never have seen more ; but lying down, the water ran out of my eyes, and carried the dirt with it, that by the morning I recovered my sight again. Yet upon this, and the like occasions, I hope it is not too much to say with Job, *Have pity upon me, have pity upon me, O ye my friends, for the hand of the Lord has touched me.* And here I cannot but remember how many times, sitting in their wigwams, and musing on things past, I should suddenly leap up and run out, as if I had been at home, forgetting where I was, and what my condition was ; but when I was without, and saw nothing but wilderness, and woods, and a company of barbarous heathen, my mind quickly returned to me, which made me think of that spoken concerning Sampson, who said, *I will go out and shake myself as at other times, but he wist not that the Lord was departed from him.*

About this time I began to think that all my hopes of restoration would come to nothing. I thought of the English army, and hoped for their coming, and being retaken by them, but that failed. I hoped to be carried to Albany, as the Indians had discoursed, but that failed also. I thought of being sold to my husband, as my master spake, but instead of that, my master himself was gone and I left behind, so that my spirit was now quite ready to sink. I asked them to let me go out and pick up some sticks, that I might get alone, and pour out my heart unto the Lord. Then also, I took my Bible to read, but I found no comfort here neither, yet I can say in all my sorrows and afflictions, God did not leave me to have any impatience work towards himself, as if his

ways were unrighteous ; but I knew that he laid upon me less than I deserved. Afterwards, before this doleful time ended with me, I was turning the leaves of my Bible, and the Lord brought to me some scriptures which did a little revive me, as that, Isa. lv. 8., *For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are my ways your ways saith the Lord.* And also, that, Psa. xxxvii. 5. *Commit thy ways unto the Lord, trust also in him, and he shall bring it to pass.*

About this time they came yelping from Hadley, having there killed three Englishmen, and brought one captive with them, viz., Thomas Read. They all gathered about the poor man, asking him many questions. I desired also to go and see him ; and when I came he was crying bitterly, supposing they would quickly kill him. Whereupon I asked one of them, whether they intended to kill him ? he answered me they would not—he being a little cheered with that, I asked him about the welfare of my husband, he told me he saw him such a time in the bay, and he was well, but very melancholy. By which I certainly understood (though I suspected it before) that whatsoever the Indians told me respecting him, was vanity and lies. Some of them told me he was dead and they killed him ; some said he was married again, and that the Governor wished him to marry, and told him he should have his choice, and that all persuaded him I was dead. So like were these barbarous creatures to him who was a liar from the beginning.

As I was sitting once in the wigwam here, Phillip's maid came in with the child in her arms, and asked me to give her a piece of my apron, to make a flap for it, I told her I would not : then my mistress bid me give it, but still I said no. The maid told me if I would not give her a piece, she would tear a piece off it—I told her I would tear her coat then ; with that my mistress rises up, and takes up a stick big enough to have killed me, and struck at me with it, but I stepped out, and she struck it into the mat of the wigwam. But while she was pulling it out, I ran to the maid and gave her all my apron, and so that storm went over.

Hearing that my son was come to this place, I went to see him, and told him his father was well, but very melancholy. He told me he was as much grieved for his father as for himself. I wondered at his speech, for I thought I had enough upon my spirit, in reference to myself, to make me mindless of my husband, and every one else, they being safe among their friends. He told me also, that a while before, his master, together with other Indians, were going to the French for powder, but by the way the Mohawks met with them, and killed four of their company, which made the rest turn back again, for which I desire that myself and he may bless the Lord; for it might have been worse with him, had he been sold to the French, than it proved to be in his remaining with the Indians.

I went to see an English youth in this place, one John Gilbert, of Springfield. I found him lying without doors, upon the ground. I asked him how he did? he told me he was very sick of a flux with eating so much blood. They had turned him out of the wigwam, and with him an Indian pappoose, almost dead, whose parents had been killed, in a bitter cold day, without fire or clothes. The young man himself had nothing on but his shirt and waistcoat. This sight was enough to melt a heart of flint. There they lay quivering in the cold, the youth round like a dog, the pappoose stretched out, with his eyes, nose and mouth, full of dirt, and yet alive and groaning. I advised John to go and get some fire; he told me he could not stand; but I persuaded him still, lest he should lie there and die. And with much ado I got him to a fire, and went myself home. As soon as I got home, his master's daughter came after me, to know what I had done with the Englishman. I told her I had got him to a fire in such a place. Now had I need to pray Paul's prayer, 2 Thess. iii. 2. *That we may be delivered from unreasonable and wicked men.* For her satisfaction I went along with her, and brought her to him; but before I got home again, it was noised about that I was running away, and getting the English youth along with me; that as soon as I came in, they began to rant and domineer, asking me where I

had been, and what I had been doing, and saying they would knock me on the head. I told them I had been seeing the English youth, and that I would not run away. They told me I lied, and getting up a hatchet they came to me and said they would knock me down if I stirred out again, and so confined me to the wigwam. Now may I say with David, 2 Sam. xxiv. 14 *I am in a great strait*. If I keep in, I must die with hunger, and if I go out I must be knocked on the head. This distressed condition held that day, and half the next, and then the Lord remembered me, whose mercies are great. Then came an Indian to me with a pair of stockings which were too big for him, and he would have me ravel them out, and knit them fit for him. I showed myself willing, and bid him ask my mistress if I might go along with him a little way; she said yes, might. But I was not a little refreshed with that news that I had my liberty again. Then I went along with him, and he gave me some roasted ground-nuts, which did again revive my feeble stomach.

Being out of her sight, I had time and liberty again to look into my Bible, which was my guide by day, and my pillar by night. Now that comfortable scripture presented itself to me, Isa. xlv. 7. *For a small moment have I forsaken thee, but with great mercies will I gather thee*. Thus the Lord carried me along from one time to another, and made good to me this precious promise and many other. Then my son came to see me, and asked his master to let him stay a while with me that I might comb his head, and look over him, for he was almost overcome with lice. He told me when I had done, that he was very hungry, but I had nothing to relieve him, but bid him go into the wigwams as he went along, and see if he could get any thing among them, which he did, and (it seems) tarried a little too long, for his master was angry with him, and beat him and then sold him. Then he came running to tell me he had a new master, and that he had given him some ground-nuts already. Then I went along with him to his new master, who told me he loved him, and he should not want. So his master carried him away, and

I never saw him afterward, till I saw him at Piscataqua.

That night they bid me go out of the wigwam again. My mistress's pappoose was sick, and it died that night; and there was one benefit in it, that there was more room. I went to a wigwam, and they bid me come in, and gave me a skin to lie upon, and a mess of venison and ground-nuts, which was a choice dish among them. On the morrow they buried the pappoose; and afterward, both morning and evening, there came a company to mourn and howl with her; though I confess I could not much condole with them. Many sorrowful eyes I had in this place; often getting alone, *Like a crane or a swallow, so did I chatter; I did mourn as a dove, mine eyes fail with looking upward. O Lord, I am oppressed, undertake for me.* Isa. xxxviii. 14. I could tell the Lord as Hezekiah did, ver. 3. *Remember now O Lord, I beseech thee, how I have walked before thee in truth.*—Now had I time to examine all my ways: my conscience did not accuse me of unrighteousness towards one or another; yet I saw how in my walk with God I had been a careless creature. As David said, *Against thee only have I sinned.* And I might say with the poor publican, *God be merciful unto me a sinner.* Upon the Sabbath-days I could look upon the sun, and think how people were going to the house of God, to have their souls refreshed, and then home, and their bodies also; but I was destitute of both, and might say as the poor prodigal, *He would fain have filled his belly with the husks that the swine did eat, and no man gave unto him,* Luke xv. 16. For I must say with him *Father I have sinned against heaven and in thy sight,* ver. 21. I remember how on the night before and after the Sabbath, when my family was about me, and relations and neighbors with us, we could pray and sing, and refresh our bodies with the good creatures of God, and then have a comfortable bed to lie down on; but instead of all this, I had only a little swill for the body, and then, like swine, must lie down on the ground. I cannot express to man, the sorrow that lay upon my spirit, the Lord knows it. Yet that comfortable scripture would

often come to my mind, *For a small moment have I forsaken thee, but with great mercies will I gather thee.*

THE FOURTEENTH REMOVE. — Now must we pack up and be gone from this thicket, bending our course toward the bay-towns. I having nothing to eat by the way, this day, but a few crumbs of cake, that an Indian gave my girl the same day we were taken. She gave it me, and I put it into my pocket, there it lay till it was so mouldy, (for want of good baking,) that one could not tell what it was made of; it fell all to crumbs, and grew so dry and hard, that it was like little flints; and this refreshed me many times, when I was ready to faint. It was in my thoughts when I put it into my mouth, that if ever I returned, I would tell the world what a blessing the Lord gave to such mean food. As we went along, they killed a deer, with a young one in her; they gave me a piece of the fawn, and it was so young and tender that one might eat the bones as well as the flesh, and yet I thought it very good. When night came on, we sat down; it rained, but they quickly got up a bark wigwam, where I lay dry that night. I looked out in the morning, and many of them had lain in the rain all night, I saw by their reeking. Thus the Lord dealt mercifully with me many times, and I fared better than many of them. In the morning they took the blood of the deer, and put it into the paunch and so boiled it; I could eat nothing of that, though they eat it sweetly. And yet they were so nice in other things, that when I had fetched water, and had put the dish I dipped the water with, into the kettle of water which I brought, they would say they would knock me down, for they said it was a sluttish trick.

THE FIFTEENTH REMOVE. — We went on our travel. — I had got one handful of ground-nut for my support that day. They gave me my load, and I went on cheerfully, (with the thoughts of going homeward,) having my burden more on my back than my spirit. — We came to Baquaung river again that day, near which we abode a few days. Sometimes one of them would

give me a pipe, another a little tobacco, another a little salt, which I would change for a little victuals. I cannot but think what a wolfish appetite persons have in a starving condition; for many times when they gave me that which was hot, I was so greedy as to burn my mouth, which would trouble me hours after, and yet I quickly did the same again. And after I was thoroughly hungry, I was never again satisfied. For though sometimes it fell out that I got enough, and did eat till I could eat no more; yet I was as unsatisfied as I was when I began. And now could I see that scripture verified; there being many scriptures that we do not take notice of, or understand, till we are afflicted, Mic. vi. 14. *Thou shalt eat and not be satisfied.* Now might I see more than ever before, the miseries that sin hath brought upon us. Many times I should be ready to run out against the heathen, but that scripture would quiet me again, Amos iii. 6. *Shall there be evil in the city, and the Lord hath not done it?* The Lord help me to make a right improvement of his Word, and that I might learn that great lesson, Mic. vi. 8, 9. *He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good, and what doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, and love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God? Hear ye the rod, and who hath appointed it.*

THE SIXTEENTH REMOVE. — We began this remove with wading over Baquaug river. The water was up to our knees, and the stream very swift, and so cold that I thought it would have cut me in sunder. I was so weak and feeble, that I reeled as I went along, and thought there I must end my days at last, after my bearing and getting through so many difficulties. The Indians stood laughing to see me staggering along; but in my distress, the Lord gave me experience of the truth and goodness of that promise, Isa. xliii. 2. *When thou passeth through the waters I will be with thee, and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee.* Then I sat down to put on my stockings and shoes, with the tears running down my eyes, and many sorrowful thoughts in my heart. But I got up to go along with them. Quickly there came up to us an Indian who informed them, that I

must go to Wachuset to my master, for there was a letter come from the councils to the Sagamores, about redeeming the captives, and that there would be another in fourteen days, and that I must be there ready.— My heart was so heavy before, that I could scarce speak, or go in the path; and yet now so light that I could run. My strength seemed to come again, and to recruit my feeble knees, and aching heart; yet it pleased them to go but one mile that night, and there we staid two days. In that time came a company of Indians to us, near thirty, all on horseback. My heart skipped within me, thinking they had been Englishmen, at the first sight of them, for they were dressed in English apparel, with hats, white neck-cloths, and sashes about their waists, and ribboas upon their shoulders. But when they came near, there was a vast difference between the lovely faces of Christians, and the foul looks of those heathens, which much damped my spirit again.

THE SEVENTEENTH REMOVE. — A comfortable remove it was to me, because of my hopes. They gave me my pack, and along we went cheerfully; but quickly my will proved more than my strength; having little or no refreshment, my strength failed, and my spirits were almost quite gone. Now may I say as David, Psa. cix. 22, 23, 24. *I am poor and needy, and my heart is wounded within me. I am gone like the shadow when it declineth; I am tossed up and down like the locust: my knees are weak through fasting, and my flesh faileth of fatness.*— At night we came to an Indian town, and the Indians sat down by a wigwam, discoursing, but I was almost spent, and could scarce speak. I laid down my load, and went into the wigwam, and there sat an Indian boiling of horses' feet, (they being wont to eat the flesh first, and when the feet were old and dry, and they had nothing else, they would cut off the feet and use them.) I asked him to give me a little of his broth, or water they were boiling in; he took a dish and gave me one spoonful of samp, and bid me take as much of the broth as I would. Then I put some of the hot water to the.

samp, and drank it up, and my spirit came again. He gave me also, a piece of the ruff or ridding of the small guts, and I broiled it on the coals. And now may I say with Jonathan, *See I pray you, how mine eyes are enlightened, because I tasted a little of this honey.* 1 Sam. xiv. 29. Now is my spirit revived again; though means be never so inconsiderable, yet if the Lord bestow his blessing upon them, they shall refresh both soul and body.

THE EIGHTEENTH REMOVE.—We took up our packs, and along we went. But a wearisome day I had of it. As we went along, I saw an Englishman stripped naked, and lying dead upon the ground, but knew not who he was. Then we came to another Indian town, where we stayed all night. In this town there were four English children, captives, and one of them my own sister's. I went to see how she did, and she was well considering her captive condition. I would have tarried that night with her, but they who owned her would not suffer it. Then I went to another wigwam, where they were boiling corn and beans, which was a lovely sight to see, but I could not get a taste thereof. Then I went into another wigwam, where there were two of the English children. The squaw was boiling horse's feet; she cut me off a little piece, and gave one of the English children a piece also. Being very hungry, I quickly ate up mine; but the child could not bite it, it was so tough and sinewy, but lay sucking, gnawing, chewing and slabbering of it in the mouth and hand; then I took it from the child and ate it myself, and savory it was to my taste. That I may say as Job, chap. vi. 7. *The things that my soul refuseth to touch, are as my sorrowful meat.* Thus the Lord made that pleasant and refreshing, which at another time would have been an abomination. Then I went home to my mistress's wigwam, and they told me I disgraced my master with begging, and if I did so any more, they would knock me on the head. I told them they had as good do that, as starve me to death.

THE NINETEENTH REMOVE. — They said, when we went out, that we must travel to Wachuset this day. But a bitter weary day I had of it; travelling now three days together, without resting any day between. At last, after many weary steps, I saw Wachuset hills, but many miles off. Then we came to a great swamp, through which we travelled up to our knees in mud and water, which was heavy going to one tired before. Being almost spent, I thought I should sink down at last, and never get out. But I may say as in Psa. xciv. 18. *When my foot slipped, thy mercy, O Lord, held me up.* Going along, having indeed my life, but little spirit, Philip, (who was in the company,) came up, and took me by the hand, and said, "*two weeks more and you shall be mistress again.*" I asked him if he spake true? He answered, yes, and quickly you shall come to your master again, who had been gone from us three weeks. After many weary steps, we came to Wachuset, where he was, and glad was I to see him. He asked me when I washed me? I told him not this month. Then he fetched me some water himself, and bade me wash, and gave me the glass to see how I looked, and bade his squaw give me something to eat. So she gave me a mess of beans and meat, and a little ground-nut cake. I was wonderfully revived with this favor showed me. Psa. cvi. 46. *He made them also to be pitied of all those that carried them captives.*

My master had three squaws, living sometimes with one and sometimes with another. One, (this old squaw,) at whose wigwam I was, and with whom my master had been these three weeks; another was Wettimore, with whom I had lived and served all this while. A severe and proud dame she was; bestowing every day in dressing herself nearly as much time as any of the gentry of the land; powdering her hair, and painting her face, going with her necklaces, with jewels in her ears, and bracelets upon her hands. When she had dressed herself, her work was to make girdles of wampum and beads. The third squaw was a younger one, by whom he had two papposes. By that time I was refreshed by the old squaw, Wettimore's maid came to

call me home, at which I fell a-weeping. Then the old squaw told me—to encourage me—that when I wanted victuals I should come to her, and that I should lay in her wigwam. Then I went with the maid, and quickly I came back and lodged there. The squaw laid a mat under me, and a good rug over me,—the first time that I had any such kindness showed me. I understood that Wettimore thought that if she should let me go and serve with the old squaw, she should be in danger of losing, not only my service, but the redemption pay also. And I was not a little glad to hear this; being by it raised in my hopes, that in God's due time, there would be an end of this sorrowful hour. Then came an Indian and asked me to knit him three pair of stockings, for which I had a hat and a silk handkerchief. Then another asked me to make her a shift, for which she gave me an apron.

Then came Tom and Peter with the second letter from the council about the captives. Though they were Indians, I took them by the hand and burst out into tears. My heart was so full that I could not speak to them; but recovering myself, I asked them how my husband did, and all my friends and acquaintance? They said they were well, but very melancholy. They brought me two biscuits, and a pound of tobacco. The tobacco I soon gave away,—when it was all gone, one asked me to give him a pipe of tobacco. I told him it was all gone; then began he to rant and threaten. I told him when my husband came I would give him some. Hang him, rogue, says he, I will knock out his brains, if he comes here. And then again in the same breath, they would say that if there should come an hundred without guns they would do them no hurt. So unstable and like mad men they were. So that fearing the worst, I durst not send to my husband, though there were some thoughts of his coming to redeem and fetch me, not knowing what might follow,—for there was little more trust to them than to the master they served. When the letter was come, the Sagamores met to consult about the captives, and called me to them to inquire how much my husband would give to redeem me.

When I came, I sat down among them—as I was wont to do—as their manner is. Then they bade me stand up, and said they were the General Court. They bade me speak what I thought he would give. Now, knowing all that we had was destroyed by the Indians, I was in a great strait. I thought if I should speak of but a little sum, it would be slighted, and hinder the matter; if of a great sum, I knew not where it would be procured; yet at venture, I said twenty pounds, yet desired them to take less; but they would not hear of that, but sent that message to Boston, that for twenty pounds I should be redeemed. It was a praying Indian who wrote their letter for them.

There was another praying Indian, who told me that he had a brother who would not eat horse, his conscience was so tender and scrupulous, though as large as hell, for the destruction of poor Christians. Then he said, he read that scripture to him, 2 Kings, vi. 25. *There was a famine in Samaria, and behold they besieged it, until an ass's head was sold for four pieces of silver, and the fourth part of a kab of dove's dung for five pieces of silver.* He expounded this place to his brother, and showed him that it was lawful to eat that in a famine, which is not so at another time. And now, says he, he will eat horse with any Indian of them all. There was another praying Indian, who, when he had done all the mischief that he could, betrayed his own father into the English's hands, thereby to purchase his own life. Another praying Indian was at Sudbury fight, though, as he deserved, he was afterwards hanged for it. There was another praying Indian so wicked and cruel, as to wear a string about his neck strung with Christian fingers. Another praying Indian, when they went to Sudbury fight, went with them, and his squaw also with him, with her papoose at her back. Before they went to that fight, they got a company together to powwow. The manner was as follows:

There was one that kneeled upon a deer skin, with the company round him in a ring, who kneeled, striking upon the ground with their hands, and with sticks, and muttering or humming with their mouths. Besides

him who kneeled in the ring, there also stood one with a gun in his hand ; then he on the deer skin made a speech, and all manifested assent to it, and so they did many times together. Then they bid him with the gun go out of the ring, which he did ; but when he was out, they called him in again, but he seemed to make a stand ; then they called the more earnestly, till he returned again. Then they all sang. Then they gave him two guns, in each hand one. And so he on the deer skin began again, and at the end of every sentence in his speaking, they all assented, humming or muttering with their mouths, and striking upon the ground with their hands. Then they bid him with the two guns, go out of the ring again, which he did a little way. Then they called him in again, but he made a stand, so they called him with greater earnestness. But he stood reeling and wavering, as if he knew not whether he should stand or fall, or which way to go. Then they called him with exceeding great vehemency, all of them, one and another. After a little while, he turned in, staggering as he went, with his arms stretched out, in each hand a gun. As soon as he came in, they all sang and rejoiced exceedingly a while, and then he upon the deer skin made another speech, unto which they all assented in a rejoicing manner. And so they ended their business, and forthwith went to Sudbury fight.

To my thinking, they went without any scruple but that they should prosper, and gain the victory. And they went out not so rejoicing, but they came home with as great a victory. For they said they had killed two captains, and almost a hundred men. One Englishman they brought alive with them, and he said it was too true, for they had made sad work at Sudbury, as indeed it proved. Yet they came home without that rejoicing and triumphing over their victory, which they were wont to show at other times ; but rather like dogs (as they say) which have lost their ears. Yet I could not perceive that it was for their own loss of men ; they said they lost not above five or six, and I missed none, except in one wigwam. When they went, they acted as if the devil had told them that they should gain the

victory, and now they acted as if the devil had told them they should have a fall. Whether it were so or no, I cannot tell, but so it proved; for quickly they began to fall, and so held on that summer, till they came to utter ruin. They came home on a Sabbath-day, and the powwow that kneeled upon the deer skin, came home (I may say without any abuse) as black as the devil. When my master came home, he came to me and bid me make a shirt for his pappoose, of a Holland laced pillow-beer. About that time there came an Indian to me, and bid me come to his wigwam at night, and he would give me some pork and ground-nuts, which I did, and as I was eating, another Indian said to me, he seems to be your good friend, but he killed two Englishmen at Sudbury, and there lie their clothes behind you. I looked behind me, and there I saw bloody clothes, with bullet-holes in them; yet the Lord suffered not this wretch to do me any hurt; yea, instead of that, he many times refreshed me; five or six times did he and his squaw refresh my feeble carcase. If I went to their wigwam at any time, they would always give me something, and yet they were strangers that I never saw before. Another squaw gave me a piece of fresh pork, and a little salt with it, and lent me her frying-pan to fry it; and I cannot but remember what a sweet, pleasant and delightful relish that bit had to me, to this day. So little do we prize common mercies, when we have them to the full.

THE TWENTIETH REMOVE. — It was their usual manner to remove, when they had done any mischief, lest they should be found out; and so they did at this time. We went about three or four miles, and there they built a great wigwam, big enough to hold an hundred Indians, which they did in preparation to a great day of dancing. They would now say among themselves, that the Governor would be so angry for his loss at Sudbury, that he would say no more about the captives, which made me grieve and tremble. My sister being not far from this place, and hearing that I was here, desired her master to let her come and see me, and he was will-

ing to it, and would go with her; but she being ready first, told him she would go before, and was come within a mile or two of the place; then he overtook her, and began to rant as if he had been mad, and made her go back again in the rain, so that I never saw her till I saw her in Charlestown. But the Lord requited many of their ill doings, for this Indian, her master, was hanged afterward at Boston. They began now to come from all quarters, against their merry dancing day. Amongst some of them came one Goodwife Kettle; I told her my heart was so heavy that it was ready to break. So is mine too, said she, but yet I hope we shall hear some good news shortly. I could hear how earnestly my sister desired to see me, and I earnestly desired to see her; yet neither of us could get an opportunity. My daughter was now but a mile off, and I had not seen her in nine or ten weeks, as I had not seen my sister since our first taking. I desired them to let me go and see them, yea, I entreated, begged and persuaded them to let me see my daughter; and yet so hard-hearted were they, that they would not suffer it. They made use of their tyrannical power whilst they had it, but through the Lord's wonderful mercy, their time was now but short.

On a Sabbath-day, the sun being about an hour high, in the afternoon, came Mr. John Hoar, (the council permitting him, and his own forward spirit inclining him,) together with the two forementioned Indians, Tom and Peter, with the third letter from the council. When they came near, I was abroad; they presently called me in, and bid me sit down and not stir. Then they caught up their guns and away they ran as if an enemy had been at hand, and the guns went off apace. I manifested some great trouble, and they asked me what was the matter? I told them I thought they had killed the Englishman, (for they had in the mean time told me that an Englishman was come,) they said no; they shot over his horse, and under and before his horse, and they pushed him this way and that way, at their pleasure, showing what they could do. Then they let him come to their wigwams. I begged of them to

let me see the Englishman, but they would not ; but there was I, fain to sit their pleasure. When they had talked their fill with him, they suffered me to go to him. We asked each other of our welfare, and how my husband did, and all my friends? He told me they were all well, and would be glad to see me. Among other things which my husband sent me, there came a pound of tobacco, which I sold for nine shillings in money ; for many of them for want of tobacco, smoked hemlock and ground ivy. It was a great mistake in any who thought I sent for tobacco, for through the favor of God, that desire was overcome. I now asked them whether I should go home with Mr. Hoar? they answered no, one and another of them ; and it being late, we lay down with that answer. In the morning, Mr. Hoar invited the Sagamores to dinner ; but when we went to get it ready, we found they had stolen the greatest part of the provision Mr. Hoar had brought ; and we may see the wonderful power of God, in that one passage, in that when there was such a number of them together, and so greedy of a little good food, and no English there but Mr. Hoar and myself, that they did not knock us on the head, and take what we had ; there being not only some provision, but also trading-cloth, a part of the twenty pounds agreed upon. But instead of doing us any mischief, they seemed to be ashamed of the fact, and said it was Matchit Indians that did it. Oh that we could believe that there is nothing too hard for God ! God showed his power over the heathen in this as he did over the hungry lions, when Daniel was cast into the den. Mr. Hoar called them betime to dinner, but they eat but little, they being so busy in dressing themselves and getting ready for their dance which was carried by eight of them, four men and four squaws ; my master and mistress being two. He was dressed in his Holland shirt, with great laces sewed at the tail of it ; he had his silver buttons, his white stockings, his garters hung round with shillings, and had girdles of wampum upon his head and shoulders. She had a kersey coat, covered with girdles of wampum from the loins upward. Her arms from her elbows to her hands, were covered with

bracelets ; there were handfuls of necklaces about her neck, and several sorts of jewels in her ears. She had fine red stockings and white shoes, her hair powdered and her face painted red, that was always before black. And all the dancers were after the same manner. There were two others singing and knocking on the kettle for their music. They kept hopping up and down one after another, with a kettle of water in the midst, standing warm upon some embers, to drink of when they were dry. They held on till it was almost night, throwing out wampum to the standers-by. At night I asked them again, if I should go home ? they all as one said no, except my husband would come for me. When we were lain down, my master went out of the wigwam, and by-and-by sent in an Indian called James the Printer, who told Mr. Hoar, that my master would let me go home to-morrow, if he would let him have one pint of liquors. Then Mr. Hoar called his own Indians, Tom and Peter, and bid them all go, and see if he would promise it before them three, and if he would, he should have it, which he did, and had it. Phillip, smelling the business, called me to him, and asked me what I would give him, to tell me some good news, and to speak a good word for me, that I might go home to-morrow ? I told him I could not tell what to give him, I would any thing I had, and asked him what he would have ? He said, two coats, and twenty shillings in money, half a bushel of seed-corn and some tobacco. I thanked him for his love, but I knew that good news as well as that crafty fox. My master after he had his drink, quickly came ranting into the wigwam again, and called for Mr. Hoar, drinking to him, and saying he was a good man, and then again he would say, hang him, rogue. Being almost drunk, he would drink to him, and yet presently say he should be hanged. Then he called for me ; I trembled to hear him, and yet I was fain to go to him ; and he drank to me, showing no incivility. He was the first Indian I saw drunk all the time I was among them. At last his squaw ran out and he after her, round the wigwam, with his money jingling at his knees, but she escaped him ; but having

an old squaw, he ran to her ; and so, through the Lord's mercy, we were no more troubled with him that night. Yet I had not a comfortable night's rest ; for I think I can say, I did not sleep for three nights together. The night before the letter came from the council, I could not rest, I was so full of fears and troubles ; yea, at this time I could not rest night nor day. The next night I was overjoyed, Mr. Hoar being come, and that with such good tidings. The third night I was even swallowed up with the thoughts of going home again, and that I must leave my children behind me in the wilderness ; so that sleep was now almost departed from mine eyes.

On Tuesday morning they call their general Court (as they styled it) to consult and determine whether I should go home or no. And they all seemingly consented that I should go, except Phillip, who would not come among them.

But before I go any farther, I would take leave to mention a few remarkable passages of providence, which I took special notice of in my afflicted time.

1. Of the fair opportunity lost in the long march, a little after the fort fight, when our English army was so numerous, and in pursuit of the enemy, and so near as to overtake several and destroy them ; and the enemy in such distress for food, that our men might track them by their rooting in the earth for ground-nuts, whilst they were flying for their lives. I say that then our army should want provision, and be forced to leave their pursuit, and return homeward, and the very next week the enemy came upon our town, like bears bereft of their whelps, or so many ravenous wolves, rending us and our lambs to death. But what shall I say ? God seemed to leave his people to themselves, and ordered all things for his own holy ends. *Shall there be evil in the city and the Lord hath not done it ? They are not grieved for the affliction of Joseph, therefore they shall go captive, with the first that go captive. It is the Lord's doings, and it should be marvellous in our eyes.*

2. I cannot but remember how the Indians derided the slowness and dullness of the English army in its

setting out. For after the desolations at Lancaster and Medfield, as I went along with them, they asked me when I thought the English army would come after them? I told them I could not tell. It may be they may come in May, said they. Thus did they scoff at us, as if the English would be a quarter of a year getting ready.

3. Which, also, I have hinted before, when the English army with new supplies were sent forth to pursue after the enemy, and they understanding it, fled before them till they came to Baquaug river, where they forthwith went over safely; but that river should be impassable to the English. I can but admire to see the wonderful providence of God in preserving the heathen for farther affliction to our poor country. They could go in great numbers over, but the English must stop; God had an over-ruling hand in all those things.

4. It was thought, if their corn were cut down, they would starve and die with hunger; and all that could be found was destroyed, and they driven from that little they had in store, into the woods, in the midst of winter; and yet how to admiration did the Lord preserve them for his holy ends, and the destruction of many still among the English! strangely did the Lord provide for them, and I did not see (all the time I was among them) one man, woman or child die with hunger. Though many times they would eat that, that a hog or a dog would hardly touch; yet by that God strengthened them to be a scourge to his people.

Their chief and commonest food was ground-nuts; they eat also nuts, and acorns, artichokes, lilly-roots, ground-beans, and several other weeds and roots that I know not.

They would pick up old bones, and cut them in pieces at the joints; and if they were full of worms and maggots, they would scald them over the fire, to make the vermin come out, and then boil them, and drink up the liquor, and then beat the great ends of them in a mortar, and so eat them. They would eat horse's guts, and ears, and all sorts of wild birds which they could catch. Also bear, venison, beavers, tortoise, frogs, squir-

rels, dogs, skunks, rattlesnakes; yea, the very bark of trees, besides all sorts of creatures, and provision which they plundered from the English. I cannot but stand in admiration to see the wonderful power of God, in providing for such a vast number of our enemies in the wilderness, where there was nothing to be seen, but from hand to mouth. Many times in a morning, the generality of them would eat up all they had, and yet have some further supply against they wanted. But now our perverse and evil carriages in the sight of the Lord have so offended him, that instead of turning his hand against them, the Lord feeds and nourishes them up to be a scourge to the whole land.

5. Another thing that I would observe is, the strange providence of God in turning things about when the Indians were at the highest, and the English at the lowest. I was with the enemy eleven weeks and five days, and not one week passed without their fury and some desolation, by fire and sword, upon one place or other. They mourned for their own losses, yet triumphed and rejoiced in their inhuman and devilish cruelty to the English. They would boast much of their victories, saying, that in two hours time they had destroyed such a captain and his company in such a place; and boast how many towns they had destroyed, and then scoff, and say they had done them a good turn, to send them to heaven so soon. Again they would say, this summer they would knock all the rogues on the head, or drive them into the sea, or make them fly the country; thinking surely, Agag-like, *the bitterness of death is past*. Now the heathen begin to think all is their own; and the poor Christian's hopes to fail (as to man) and now their eyes are more to God, and their hearts sigh heavenward, and to say in good earnest, *Help, Lord, or we perish*. When the Lord had brought his people to this, that they saw no help in anything but himself, then he takes the quarrel into his own hand; and though they had made a pit (in their own imaginations) as deep as hell for the Christians that summer, yet the Lord hurled themselves into it. The Lord had many ways before to preserve them, and now he hath many to destroy them.

But to return again to my going home, where we may see a remarkable change of providence. At first they were all against it, except my husband would come for me; but afterwards they assented to it, and seemed to rejoice in it; some asking me to send them some bread, others some tobacco, others shaking me by the hand, offering me a hood and scarf to ride in,—not one moving hand or tongue against it. Thus hath the Lord answered my poor desires, and the many earnest requests of others put up unto God for me. In my travels, an Indian came to me, and told me, if I were willing, he and his squaw would run away, and go home along with me. I told them no; I was not willing to run away, but desired to wait God's time, that I might go home quietly, and without fear. And now God hath granted me my desire. Oh, the wonderful power of God that I have seen, and the experience that I have had. I have been in the midst of those roaring lions, and savage bears, that feared neither God nor man, nor the devil, by night and day, alone and in company; sleeping all sorts together, and yet not one of them ever offered the least abuse of unchastity to me, in word or action. Though some are ready to say, I speak it for my own credit; but I speak it in the presence of God, and to his glory. God's power is as great now, as it was to save Daniel in the lion's den, or the three children in the fiery furnace. Especially that I should come away in the midst of so many hundreds of enemies, and not a dog move his tongue. So I took my leave of them, and in coming along, my heart melted into tears, more than all the while I was with them, and I was almost swallowed up with the thoughts that ever I should go home again. About the sun's going down, Mr. Hoar, myself, and the two Indians, came to Lancaster, and a solemn sight it was to me. There had I lived many comfortable years among my relations and neighbors; and now not one Christian to be seen, nor one house left standing. We went on to a farm-house that was yet standing, where we lay all night; and a comfortable lodging we had, though nothing but straw to lie on. The Lord preserved us in safety that night; and raised us up again in the

morning, and carried us along, so before noon we came to Concord. Now was I full of joy, and yet not without sorrow. Joy, to see such a lovely sight, so many Christians together, and some of them my neighbors. There I met with my brother, and my brother-in-law, who asked me, if I knew where his wife was? Poor heart! he had helped to bury her, and knew it not; she being shot down by the house, was partly burnt, so that those who were at Boston at the desolation of the town, and came back afterward and buried the dead, did not know her. Yet I was not without sorrow, to think how many were looking and longing, and my own children among the rest, to enjoy that deliverance that I had now received, and I did not know whether ever I should see them again. Being recruited with food and raiment, we went to Boston that day, where I met with my dear husband. But the thoughts of our dear children, one being dead, and the other we could not tell where, abated our comfort in each other; I was not before so much hemmed in by the merciless and cruel heathen, but now as much with pitiful, tender-hearted and compassionate Christians. In that poor and beggarly condition, I was received in, I was kindly entertained in several houses. So much love I received from several (many of whom I knew not) that I am not capable to declare it. But the Lord knows them all by name; the Lord reward them seven-fold into their bosoms of his spirituals for their temporals.

The twenty pounds, the price of my redemption, was raised by some Boston gentlewomen, and Mr. Usher, whose bounty and charity I would not forget to make mention of. Then Mr. Thomas Shepard, of Charlestown, received us into his house, where we continued eleven weeks; and a father and mother they were unto us. And many more tender-hearted friends we met with in that place. We were now in the midst of love, yet not without much and frequent heaviness of heart, for our poor children, and other relations, who were still in affliction. The week following after my coming in, the Governor and Council sent to the Indians again, and that not without success; for they brought in my sister,

and Goodwife Kettle. Their not knowing where our children were, was a sore trial to us still; and yet we were not without secret hopes of seeing them again. That which was dead lay heavier upon my spirit, than those which were alive among the heathen; thinking how it suffered with its wounds, and I was not able to relieve it, and how it was buried by the heathen in the wilderness from among all Christians. We were hurried up and down in our thoughts, sometimes we should hear a report that they were gone this way, and sometimes that; and that they were come in, in this place or that. We kept enquiring and listening to hear concerning them, but no certain news as yet. About this time the Council had ordered a day of public thanksgiving, though I had still cause of mourning; and being unsettled in our minds, we thought we would ride eastward, to see if we could hear any thing concerning our children. As we were riding along between Ipswich and Rowley, we met with William Hubbard, who told us our son Joseph, and my sister's son, were come in to Major Waldren's. I asked him how he knew it? he said the Major himself told him so. So along we went till we came to Newbury; and their minister being absent, they desired my husband to preach the thanksgiving for them; but he was not willing to stay there that night, but he would go over to Salisbury, to hear farther, and come again in the morning, which he did, and preached there that day. At night, when he had done, one came and told him that his daughter was come in at Providence. Here was mercy on both hands. Now we were between them, the one on the east, and the other on the west; our son being nearest, we went to him first, to Portsmouth, where we met with him, and with the Major also, who told us he had done what he could, but could not redeem him under seven pounds, which the good people thereabouts were pleased to pay. The Lord reward the Major, and all the rest, though unknown to me, for their labor of love. My sister's son was redeemed for four pounds, which the Council gave order for the payment of. Having now received one of our children, we hastened toward the other. Going

back through Newbury, my husband preached there on the Sabbath-day, for which they rewarded him manifold.

On Monday, we came to Charlestown, where we heard that the Governor of Rhode Island had sent over for our daughter, to take care of her, being now within his jurisdiction; which should not pass without our acknowledgments. But she being nearer Rehoboth than Rhode Island, Mr. Newman went over and took care of her, and brought her to his own house. And the goodness of God was admirable to us in our low estate, in that he raised up compassionate friends on every side, when we had nothing to recompense any for their love.

The Indians were now gone that way, so that it was apprehended dangerous to go to her; but the carts which carried provision to the English army, being guarded, brought her with them to Dorchester, where we received her safe; blessed be the Lord for it. Her coming in was after this manner: She was travelling one day with the Indians, with her basket at her back; the company of Indians were got before her, and gone out of sight, all except one squaw. She followed the squaw till night, and then both of them lay down, having nothing over them but the heavens, nor under them but the earth. Thus they travelled three days together, having nothing to eat or drink but water and green whortleberries. At last they came into Providence, where she was kindly entertained by several of that town. The Indians often said that I should never have her under twenty pounds, but now the Lord hath brought her in upon free cost, and given her to me the second time. The Lord make us a blessing indeed each to other. Thus hath the Lord brought me and mine out of that horrible pit, and hath set us in the midst of tender-hearted and compassionate Christians. 'Tis the desire of my soul, that we may walk worthy of the mercies received, and which we are receiving.

Our family being now gathered together, the fourth church in Boston hired an house for us. Then we removed from Mr. Shepard's (those cordial friends) and went to Boston, where we continued about three quar-

ters of a year. Still the Lord went along with us, and provided graciously for us. I thought it somewhat strange to set up house-keeping with bare walls; but, as Solomon says, *Money answers all things*. And that we had, through the benevolence of Christian friends, some in this town, and some in that, and others; and some from England, so that in a little time, we might look and see the house furnished with love. The Lord hath been exceeding good to us in our low estate, in that, when we had neither house nor home, nor other necessities, the Lord so moved the hearts of these and those towards us, that we wanted neither food nor raiment for ourselves or ours. Prov. xviii. 24. *There is a friend that sticketh closer than a brother*. And how many such friends have we found, and now live amongst! And truly such a friend have we found him to be unto us, in whose house we lived, viz., Mr. James Whitcomb, a friend near hand and afar off.

I can remember the time, when I used to sleep quietly, without working in my thoughts, whole nights together; but now it is otherwise with me: when all are fast about me, and no eye open, but his who ever awaketh, my thoughts are upon things past, upon the awful dispensations of the Lord towards us; upon his wonderful power and might in carrying of us through so many difficulties, in returning us in safety, and suffering none to hurt us. I remember in the night season, how the other day I was in the midst of thousands of enemies, and nothing but death before me. It was then hard work to persuade myself, that ever I should be satisfied with bread again. But now we are fed with the finest of the wheat, and (as I may say) with *honey out of the rock*. Instead of husks we have the fatted calf. The thoughts of these things in the particulars of them, and of the love and goodness of God towards us, make it true of me, what David said of himself, Psa. vi. 6. *I water my couch with my tears*. O the wonderful power of God that mine eyes have seen, affording matter enough for my thoughts to run in, and when others are sleeping mine eyes are weeping.

I have seen the extreme vanity of this world. One

hour I have been in health, and wealth, wanting nothing, but the next hour in sickness, and wounds, and death, having nothing but sorrow and affliction. Before I knew what affliction meant, I was ready sometimes to wish for it. When I lived in prosperity, having the comforts of this world about me, my relations by me, and my heart cheerful, and taking little care for any thing; and yet seeing many (whom I preferred before myself) under many trials and afflictions, in sickness, weakness, poverty, losses, crosses, and cares of the world, I should be sometimes jealous lest I should have my portion in this life. But now I see the Lord had his time to scourge and chasten me. The portion of some is to have their affliction by drops, but the *Wine of astonishment, like a sweeping rain, that leaveth no food*, did the Lord prepare to be my portion. Affliction I wanted, and affliction I had, full measure pressed down and running over. Yet I see when God calls persons to never so many difficulties, yet he is able to carry them through, and make them say, they have been gainers thereby. And I hope I can say in some measure, as David, *It is good for me that I have been afflicted*. The Lord hath showed me the vanity of these outward things; that they are the *Vanities of vanities, and vexation of spirit*. That they are but a shadow, a blast, a bubble, and things of no continuance. If trouble from smaller matter begin to arise in me, I have something at hand to check myself with, and say, Why am I troubled? It was but the other day, that if I had had the world, I would have given it for my freedom, or to have been a servant to a Christian. I have learned to look beyond present and smaller troubles, and to be quieted under them, as Moses said, Exod. xiv. 13. *Stand still and see the salvation of the Lord*.

● A CENTURY SERMON:
PREACHED AT THE
FIRST PARISH IN LANCASTER,
MAY 23, 1753.

—
BY TIMOTHY HARRINGTON,
PASTOR OF THE FIRST CHURCH IN LANCASTER.
—

Many a time have they afflicted me from my youth, may Israel now say:
Many a time have they afflicted me from my youth; yet they have not
prevailed against me. Psa. cxxix., 1, 2.

A century from the incorporation of the town this day expires, and although it was long a frontier, and has often suffered the fury of the enemy, is yet fair and flourishing.

The church of God has been his peculiar care in all ages of the world, and therefore although the seed of the serpent have often persecuted the seed of the woman, yet they have never been able fully to accomplish their desires. The adversary hath often lifted up the horn, and they that hate Mount Zion have often brought her low; yet they have been no more than a scourge in the hand of God to chastise his people, to correct what was amiss, and to make them more humble and fervent in his service. Yet the enemy meant not so.

The church in this world is in a militant state, and may well expect shocking assaults from those that hate her. She hath been troubled on every side and perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed; a bush burning, but not consumed.

It was frequently thus with Israel, while they continued the peculiar people of God. Many a time have they afflicted me from my youth up; may Israel now say, many a time have they afflicted me from my youth; yet they have not prevailed against me.

Interpreters agree that this Psalm was written when some new and heavy calamity either pressed hard upon or impended that people. But whether when Senacherib, with the host of Assyria invaded Judea, or when Sanballat and confederates, after the return of the captivity, made interest against them in the court of Persia, or at some other calamitous season, is neither easy nor important to determine. For whatever was the particular occasion of the writing, the design is manifestly to excite that people to a serious recollection of the numerous calamities brought upon them by their enemies, ever since their being taken into covenant with, and made the peculiar people of God, as also to acknowledge the merciful interpositions of God for them;—who, notwithstanding their frequent rebellions against him, had not suffered their enemies so far to prevail as to cut them off from being a people.

Yet they have not prevailed against me, is not to be understood in the strictest sense, as if they had never been overcome, or brought into subjection by their enemies, for in this sense it is not true, as appears from the scripture history of that church and people.

The meaning therefore is, they have never been able wholly to extirpate us, or to cut us off from being a church and nation.

Our text is well paraphrased by a learned prelate:

“Our adversaries,” may Israel now on this occasion say, “have very often and very sorely distressed us, ever since we began to be a people; it is hard to tell how often, or into how great straits they have reduced us, since we began to be a nation. And yet by the special favor of God, they have never been able to accomplish their desire of our utter extirpation.”

From the words let us consider,

I. The church and people of God, as frequently afflicted by their enemies, and yet preserved from utter ruin. And,

II. As ascribing the glory of their preservation unto God.

1. Then let us consider the church and people of God, as frequently afflicted by their enemies, and yet preserved from utter ruin.

The history of their affliction and preservation from their sojourning in Egypt to the reign of Ahasuerus, King of Persia, you have on sacred record, and is therefore unnecessary to be recited here.

After the return of the captivity from Babylon, the Jews were subject to the Persians till the destruction of their empire, and had the privilege of being governed by their own laws, under the administration of the Tirshatha, in conjunction with the High Priest and great Sanhedrim.

But when the Grecian empire arose on the ruins of the Persian, the Jews became subject to Alexander the Great, who being incensed by them while at the siege of Tyre, immediately after the reduction of it, marched for Jerusalem, with a design of severe revengè. In this distress, God directed Jaddua, the high priest, in his pontifical robes, with the priests in their habits, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem in white garments, to go forth in procession to meet him.

This was exactly agreeable to a vision he had seen at Dio, in Macedonia, encouraging him to march into Asia, and assuring him of the conquest. At the first sight, therefore, Alexander concluded him to be the priest of that God who conducted his arms; and embracing him with respect, went into the city, and offered sacrifice to the God of Israel, and at his departure granted large favors to them.

After the death of Alexander, his empire was divided among four of his captains, the four horns spoken of in the prophet Daniel. And Egypt fell to the share of Ptolemy Soter, who laid seige to Jerusalem; and making a general assault on the sabbath, when the Jews superstitiously refused to defend themselves, he carried the city, and captivated an hundred thousand. But on consideration of their fidelity to former princes, to whom they had been subjected, he conferred on them many valuable

privileges and immunities. And the Jews continued subject to Egypt about an hundred years, but then a war arising between Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt, and Antiochus, the great king of Syria, and Antiochus being victorious in the war, the Jews submitted unto him.

Seleucus Philopater, succeeded Antiochus in the throne of Syria; who being informed of immense treasures in the temple of Jerusalem, sent Heliodorus to make the seizure of them; and he forcibly entering the temple for that purpose, was struck speechless by a vision, fell to the ground, and was carried off by his servants, frustrated in his design.

Antiochus Epiphanes, a most cruel persecutor of the church and people of God, succeeded Seleucus. He assaulted Jerusalem, and took it, and slew forty thousand, and sold as many into slavery. He also forced himself into the Holy of Holies, offered a swine on the altar of Holocaust, defiled the temple, and plundered both that and the city. And as if this had been but a small thing, he afterwards sent one of his generals with an army and an express order to destroy all the men remaining in Jerusalem, and to enslave the women and children; who fell on the city on the sabbath, when they were at their devotions, massacred the men, and captivated the women and children.

After this came forth an edict for all nations (but chiefly levelled at the Jews) to forsake their own religion, and conform to that of the king; and the officer to whom he had committed the execution of this unreasonable decree, coming to Jerusalem, caused the daily sacrifice to cease, suppressed the rights of the Jewish worship, burnt the law of Moses, consecrated the temple to Jupiter Olympius, set up his image on the altar, and compelled the people on pain of death to offer sacrifice to it.

Such as were found assembled for divine worship in the caves were burnt. But Eleazer, Solomona and her seven sons, with numerous others, chose rather to submit to the most exquisite torments, than forsake their God. And to time it is supposed the author of the

epistle to the Hebrews alludes, saying: "Some were tortured not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection. Others had trial of cruel mockings, yea, moreover of bonds and imprisonments. They were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were burned, were slain with the sword, they wandered about in sheepskins and goatskins, in the deserts and mountains, dens and caves of the earth, destitute, afflicted, tormented."

But although God at this time severely rebuked his people, yet he did not utterly forsake them, but excited Mattathias and his valiant sons, to stand up in the cause of Israel; who raising armies, not only made a gallant stand, but obtained many signal victories over their oppressors. And three years and a half after the pollution of the temple, they purified it, and afresh dedicated it to the Lord; which was the original of the Feast of Dedication spoken of in the New Testament.

The Maccabean family are said to have held the Government of Judea for above an hundred years; and some part of the time as sovereign princes, until a difference arising between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, two princes of that blood; they referred it to Pompey the Great, a Roman general, then in Cælosyria, but he refused to hear the matter before his arrival at Jerusalem. Aristobulus, distrusting his cause, fled and shut up himself in the fortress of Alexandrion; but on the approach of Pompey, surrendered himself. However, his party at Jerusalem seized the mount of the temple, and made preparation for a vigorous defence. On which Pompey marched his whole army to Jerusalem, besieged and took the place, and put twelve thousand to the sword. After this, Rufus, another Roman general, plundered the temple. Afterwards, Herod the Great, the son of Antipas, a noble Idumean, obtained the kingdom of Judea, by a full vote of the Roman Senate. In his time our blessed Lord was born and the infants murdered at Bethlehem.

But notwithstanding the afflictions of Israel from the infancy of their nation, they continued the church and peculiar people of God, the appearance of the Messias,

to take down the wall of partition between Jew and Gentile, and until the constitution they were under had stood its appointed time, and until by the greatest of all crimes, the crucifixion of their Messiah, they had provoked God to deliver them to the power of their enemies. And the preservation of the Christian church under her affliction and adversity hath been as remarkable as the preservation of the Jewish. For although the people of the Jews combined against it, and although the heathen raged, the kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers took council together to overthrow it, yet their counsels were turned into foolishness, and they unable to accomplish their desire. The methods they pursued were had in derision by the King of Zion, and overruled to the quicker spread, and the establishment of the truth.

The holy lives of the primitive Christians, the constancy and intrepidity of the martyrs in prisons, flames and death, under the ten prosecutions of Rome heathen, were more effectual to the promotion of Christianity, than all the stratagem and fury of the enemy to its suppression. For this reason, the blood of the martyrs is called the seed of the church. And thus Christianity triumphed over all its adversaries, until Constantine the Great was fully seated on the imperial throne, when it became the established religion of the Roman empire. And for some time the church was in prosperity and peace.

However, before the death of Constantine, the Arian heresy appeared, and at last the asserters of it became so numerous, powerful and malevolent, as to persecute those who adhered to the Apostolic faith.

After this came the Roman apostacy, and Papal tyranny; errors and superstition overwhelmed the whole Western church. To which may be added, the Mahometan imposture in the Eastern, and the oppressing the churches of Asia, by the Saracen power; under which they groan to this day.

But to return. Although the Western church suffered under Papal oppressions; yet in the thickest darkness, there was a remnant, who did not bow the knee to Baal; the Vaudois and Waldenses inhabiting the valleys

of Piedmont. And besides these, almost in every age God raised up witnesses to the truth, until the sixteenth century, when Luther, and a number of pious reformers arose in Germany, boldly contending for the truth, against the errors and usurpations of Rome. And divers princes of Germany embracing the reformed religion, boldly in a diet of the Empire, protested against a decree which was made against it; whereby they acquired the glorious name of Protestants.

From Germany, the reformation spread into England; way being made for it by the renouncing of the Pope's supremacy, and by other transactions in the reign of King Henry the VIII. And therefore on the accession of Edward the VI. to the crown, Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Latimer, Bishop Ridley, and other excellent persons, under the approbation and patronage of that pious prince, carried it on to a very considerable length.

When God thus turned again the captivity of Sion, they were like those that dream; then their mouth was filled with laughter, and they said among their enemies, The Lord had done great things for them, whereof they were glad.

However these pious reformers by-reason of the temper and circumstances of the times, and the premature death of that good prince, could not carry on the reformation so far as they earnestly desired. And on the accession of the Princess Mary, a black and heavy cloud overspread the noble design; the Roman superstition was restored, and the professors of the reformed religion were persecuted to the stake and death. But on the accession of the Princess Elizabeth, the reformed religion was re-established. However, neither that illustrious Princess, nor King James the I., her successor, nor their clergy, would suffer the reformation to be carried on further than it had been in the reign of King Edward. Moreover, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, an act of Parliament was passed requiring *uniformity* in worship, under very severe penalties; continued by King James I., and more severely urged by King Charles I.

Our fathers, therefore, earnestly desiring a greater reformation, and liberty to worship God according to their

consciences, chose rather to expose themselves to almost any hardships, than violate them. And having obtained liberty of King James the First to remove and set down within certain limits in America, with liberty of worshipping God according to that way which appeared to them most agreeable to scripture, they left their native country, and crossed the Atlantic, with their families, into this then howling wilderness, founding the colony of Plymouth in 1620, and the colony of Massachusetts in the year 1630. And after their arrival, for the trial of their faith and patience, God exercised them with grievous and mortal sicknesses, with scarcity and famine. Yet they soon spread abroad, and before the year 1636, had founded the colony of Connecticut, and had planted in other parts.

But in the year 1636, the Pequots, the most fierce and warlike of all the Indian tribes in that part of the country, and formidable to all their neighbors, having committed many barbarous outrages on the Narragansetts, to the eastward, and on the Moheags to the northward of them, on the English and Dutch, as they occasionally came among them, and on the planters on Connecticut river, the colonies unanimously raised their forces, and cut off seven hundred; and part of those that escaped the English sword, fled to the Mohawks, and were destroyed by them; and the others were by the English subjected to, and incorporated with the Narragansetts and Moheags. After this, there was a general peace and prosperity for a considerable term.

Thus much in general, we now proceed to a particular consideration of the affairs of this town.

In the year 1645, Sholan, alias Shaumauw, proprietor of Nashawogg, and Sachem of the Nashawas, who lived at Waushacum, informed Mr. Thomas King, of Watertown, (with whom he traded and for whom he had a considerable friendship,) of the said tract of land as well accommodated for a plantation, desiring that the English would come and set down by him.

Accordingly, Mr. King, Mr. John Prescott and others, procured of said Sholan, a deed of said Nashawogg, ten miles in length, and eight in breadth; with these re-

strictions, that the English should not molest the Indians in their hunting, fishing, or usual planting places. And the General Court confirmed the deed.

On this, the associates purchased of Mr. King all his interest in the premises, and entered into mutual obligation by a certain term, to appear on the spot, to begin and carry on the plantation, and contracted with a preacher to go on with them.

Having thus concerted affairs, they sent up divers persons, (to whom they had given lots,) to perform divers things, at the common expense of the proprietors, before the time of their general appearance; and these were the first inhabitants.

But before the time for their general appearance, their minister, to whom they had committed their mutual obligation, (whether by reason of his own aversion to the place, or by the instigation of such of the proprietors as were unwilling to come up themselves, is uncertain,) forsook them, carrying with him said mutual obligation. And in consequence of this, all the associates, except Mr. Prescott, refused to fulfil their contract, but yet held their interest. So that for the space of seven years, very little was done to forward the plantation. But at length, some of the rest being willing to engage more heartily in the affair, on the 18th of May, 1653, there being *nine families* in the place, they petitioned the General Court for an incorporation, and obtained it by the name of LANCASTER.

From the year 1654, Mr. Rowlandson preached among them until the 14th of April, 1658; at which time they invited him to settle in the work of the ministry among them; and he accepted their invitation, and probably was ordained the same year.

The town was in peace and prosperity for the space of twenty-two years from its incorporation; and the Indians were very serviceable to the inhabitants, by supplying them with such corn and wild meat as they stood in need of, and that on very moderate terms. But on the 24th of June, 1675, Philip, sachem of Pecanoket, commonly called King Philip, rebelled against the English, and began a very bloody and destructive war. And on

the 22d of August following, eight persons, in different parts of the town were killed. And as the sachems of the Narragansett country joined with Philip in his rebellion, so after the destruction of Canonicus' Fort, commonly called the Narragansett Fort, by the forces of the united colonies, on the 19th of December, 1675, the Indians leaving that part of the country moved toward Wachusett, and meeting with the Nipnets and Nasha-was in their march, persuaded them to take up arms against the English; and after this combination, part turned back towards Plymouth colony, burning and destroying as they went along.

But Philip, with the rest, confessed by themselves after the peace, to be 1500, marched for Lancaster, in which there were then above fifty families, and on the 10th of February, 1676, assaulted in five distinct bodies and places, burning most of the unfortified houses, and killing several persons.

However, they destroyed no garrison but that belonging to the Rev. Mr. Rowlandson; in which there were soldiers and inhabitants to the number of forty-two. And as there was no fortification on the back of the house, and the English being unable to ply their shot on that side; the enemy having loaded a cart with combustible matter, pushed it flaming to the house; and thus being reduced to the sad necessity of either perishing in the flames, or resigning themselves to the savages, they surrendered.

On this, the men, except one who made his escape, were slain, or reserved for torture, and about twenty of the women and children were carried into captivity; among which, was the consort of the Rev. Mr. Rowlandson, an account of whose captivity, sufferings and return, written by her own hand, you have doubtless, many of you, seen in print.

Mr. Rowlandson was then at Boston, soliciting the Governor and Council for more soldiers for the protection of the place, and on his return, met the heavy news, which he received with a becoming submission and magnanimity.

One of the women taken at this time being unable

to travel by reason of her pregnancy, and being also very discontented, the Indians made a large fire, formed a ring about her, and first knocked her on the head, stript her naked, and cast her into it. But the women and children in general, suffered no other evils among the enemy than what were unavoidable from a state of captivity, and the wants the Indians themselves were in, and most of them were returned.

Capt. Wadsworth, hearing of the assault of the town at Marlborough, where he then was, with forty brave men, marched immediately to its relief; and as there was then a very considerable flood, and the river in consequence every where unpassable, but at the bridge, the Indians had taken from thence the planks to prevent the passing of horsemen, and ambushed to prevent the passing of footmen, but had left their ambushment before the arrival of Capt. Wadsworth, who therefore passed it unmolested, and entered the town undiscovered and forced the enemy for the present to quit it. He quartered his men in various parts of the town, and tarried some days; but before his departure, lost one of his men by the Indians. This is that famous Captain Wadsworth, who afterwards with Captain Brocklebank, and the much greater part of their men, gloriously fell in the cause of their country in a fight with the enemy at Sudbury.

But to return. About six weeks after the assault of the town, it being judged untenable under the then present circumstances, both of that and the country, the remainder of the inhabitants, except one who was killed that very day by the enemy, drew off under a guard of horse and foot. And immediately on this desertion of the place, every building that remained save two, were reduced to ashes. In this state of desolation the town continued for about four years.

During this dispersion of the Lancaster people, the Rev. Mr. Rowlandson, was invited to preach at Weathersfield in the colony of Connecticut, and died before the re-settlement of the town.

After the re-settlement, divers gentlemen for the space of seven years supplied the pulpit.

In Feb. 1688, Mr. John Whiting was invited to preach on probation, and continued preaching until Nov. 1690, when he was invited to settle in the work of the ministry, and he accepting the invitation, was probably soon after ordained.

In 1688, William, Prince of Orange, arrived in England, and King James the Second, abdicated the throne, whose cause the French King espousing, involved the nation in a war with France, and New England in a war with the Canadians, French and Indians; in the calamities of which this town had a large share. On the 18th of July, 1692, the Indians assaulted the house of Mr. Peter Joslin, who was at his labor in the field, and knew nothing of it till entering the house, found his wife and three children, and a woman that lived in his family, barbarously butchered by their hatchets, and weltering in their gore. His wife's sister, with another of his children were carried into captivity. She returned; but the child was murdered in the wilderness. Thus was he stript naked, and called to bitter weeping and lamentation.

In 1695, on a Lord's day morning, Mr. Abraham Wheeler, going from the garrison to his own house, on some occasion, was there shot by an enemy, that had lain in ambush for him; but although mortally wounded, he wrested the gun from him, and brought it towards the garrison, until met by his friends.

In 1697, a considerable body of the enemy, under five commanders, but one in chief, came and lurked in the woods for some time, sending in their scouts by night to observe the posture of the town. Having done this, they determined to begin the attack on Mr. Thomas Sawyer's garrison; and the firing at that was to be a signal to all the rest, to fall on, in their respective stations. And accordingly on the 11th of September, when the inhabitants, suspicious of no enemy, had gone out to their labor, they came in several companies into the town, and were very near surprising said Sawyer's garrison, both the gates being left open; but that Mr. Jabez Fairbank, who was at his own house half a mile's distance, and designing to bring his little son from said

garrison, mounted his horse, which came running to him in a fright, and rode full speed into the gate, but yet nothing suspicious of an enemy. However, this was a means of saving the garrison; for the enemy who were just ready to rush into it, supposing they were discovered, gave over that design and fired at such as were out in the field. At that time, the Rev. Mr. John Whiting being on some occasion at a distance from his garrison, they surprised and killed him. They indeed offered him quarter; but he chose rather to fight to the last, than resign himself to those whose tender mercies are cruel. At the same time they killed twenty others; wounded two, but not mortally, and captivated six, five of whom returned.

On this sorrowful occasion, the town set apart a day for prayer and fasting.

From 1697 to 1700, several gentlemen supplied the pulpit.

In May, 1701, Mr. Andrew Gardner was invited to preach, and in September following was invited to settle in the ministry.

In 1704, there came an army of seven hundred French and Indians from Canada, with two tribes, under the command of M. Boocore, designed for Northampton. But a deserter came and gave notice of their numbers and approach. And those western frontiers were seasonably strengthened.

Moreover, in their march there arose a mutiny among them about the division of the plunder; and the contention rose so high, that above two hundred of them returned. But the rest came on, and sent out their scouts, who reported that the English were ready in great numbers to receive them. On this they called a council of war, in which they concluded to lay aside the design on Northampton, and to beat up for volunteers, for the assault of Lancaster, and a large number enlisted. On the 30th of July they came within about two miles of the town and encamped, and by night sent in their spies to observe the posture of the English, and on the 31st, they fell furiously upon the town early in the morning; and in their first onset killed Lieut. Nathaniel Wilder,

near the gate of his own garrison, and the same day, three others near the same garrison.

The enemy were uncommonly brave, and therefore although Capt. Tyng, who had the command of the garrison soldiers, and Capt. Howe, who on the alarm, marched immediately from Marlborough with what men he could suddenly raise, and the inhabitants maintained a warm dispute with them for some time, yet being much inferior in number were obliged to retreat into garrison; on which they burnt the meeting house, and six other buildings, and destroyed much of the live stock of the town.

Before night there came such numbers to the relief of the town, that the enemy retreated; and although pursued, yet were not overtaken. Had they like those in 1697, tarried till the inhabitants were dispersed to their labor, they might in all human probability, have done much greater mischief, if they had not entirely destroyed the town; but God had mercy on his people.

On the 26th of October, following, there having been a party of the enemy discovered at Still River, the soldiers and inhabitants belonging to the Rev. Mr. Gardner's garrison, with divers others, went in quest of them; who returning in the evening fatigued with the service of the day, Mr. Gardner, in compassion, took the watch that night upon himself; and coming out of the box late at night, on some occasion, was heard by one between sleeping and waking, in the house, who supposing him an enemy, seized the first gun which came to hand, and shot him through the body in the parade. But the fatal mistake immediately appeared; and he being carried into the house, forgave the person that shot him, and in an hour or two expired, to the great grief, not only of his consort, but of his people, who had an exceeding value for him.

In May, 1705, Mr. John Prentice was preaching among them, and continued preaching until Feb., 1707, when he was invited to settle in the work of the ministry, and accepted the invitation.

On the 15th of October, 1705, Mr. Thomas Sawyer with his son, and another was captivated.

On the 16th of July, 1707, Mr. Jonathan White was killed by the Indians. On the 18th of August following, twenty-four stout Indians, who according to their own account had all been captains, came to Marlborough, and captivated Mr. Jonathan Wilder, a native of this town, and but lately removed from it. The next day being pursued by about thirty from Marlborough and Lancaster, and overtaken—the front of our men came upon them before they had the least apprehension of a pursuit. Their packs were all slung, and it being a misty day, their cases were on their guns, and therefore had ours all run down upon them, they might easily have destroyed or taken all, and saved the life of the captive. The enemy themselves at the first appearance of our men, had determined to resign themselves to their mercy. But observing that but ten of the thirty came down upon them, they took courage, unslung their packs, and fought like men—having first dispatched their captive. In this action, the enemy lost nine, and all their packs; and on our part two were killed, and two wounded, but not mortally. It ought to be observed, again, that but ten of our men were in the action.

On the 29th of March, 1708, the Rev. Mr. John Prentice was ordained.

On August 5th, 1710, a party of the enemy coming by the advantage of the bushes, very near to Mr. Nathaniel, and Mr. Oliver Wilder, and an Indian servant, at labor in the field, fired upon them. The servant was killed but they escaped to the garrison. And this is the last mischief that hath been done by them in this town.

The records of the church in Mr. Rowlandson's time, were in all probability consumed in his garrison. And the records in Mr. Whiting's day not being to be found, we have no account of the number of communicants, or of baptisms, from the founding of this church to the ordination of the Rev. Mr. Prentice in 1708. But during Mr. Prentice's ministry, 331 were received to full communion, and 1593 baptized.

After a life of much service, faithfulness, and loved, on the 6th of January, 1747 or '48, the Rev. Mr. Prentice deceased, greatly lamented.

From the last recorded by him, to the re-settlement of the ministry on Nov. 16, 1748, were 38 baptisms. And from the re-settlement to this day, 70 persons have been admitted to full communion, and 183 baptized. So that from March, 1708, to this day, 401 have been admitted to full communion, and 1814 baptized.

Of the members in this church was formed a considerable part of the church in Harvard in 1733.

The church in Bolton, in 1741.

In part, the church in Leominster, 1743.

The church in the second precinct, in 1744.

With propriety therefore this church may say, *Many* a time have they afflicted me from my youth, *many* a time have they afflicted me from my youth; yet they have not prevailed against me.

Proceed we now to a brief consideration of the

2d. The church and people of God ascribing unto Him the glory of their preservation.

Yet they have not prevailed against me, is designed not only to assert their preservation from utter ruin but also to ascribe the glory of it unto God—unto God, who in consequence of their peculiar relation to Him, and of His gracious promises to them, had gloriously appeared for them in Egypt, and at the Red Sea; and often afterwards, when endangered or oppressed by enemies, more numerous and powerful than themselves.

These ascriptions are common in the sacred pages. "We have heard with our ears, O God, our fathers have told us what work thou didst in their days, in the times of old." "If it had not been the Lord who was on our side, now may Israel say, If it had not been the Lord, who was on our side, when men rose up against us; then they had swallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled against us. Then the waters had overwhelmed us; then the proud waters had gone over our soul. Blessed be the Lord, who hath not given us a prey to their teeth. Our help is in the name of the Lord."

These acknowledgements and ascriptions are not only founded on the reason and nature of things; but also enjoined by divine authority, to keep divine benefits in memory, to inspire succeeding generations with gratitude

and to engage them effectually in the fear and service of the most high God. Accordingly we have the church of Israel assigning this as a reason of her practice.

"We will show to the generation to come the praises of the Lord, and his strength and his wonderful works that he hath done. For he established a testimony in Jacob, and appointed a law in Israel, which he commanded our fathers that they should make them known to their children, That the generation to come might know them, even the children which should be born; who should arise and declare them to their children, that they might set their hope in God, and not forget the works of God, but keep his commands, and be steadfast with him."

The deliverance of Israel from oppression and bondage in Egypt, was to be celebrated with solemn festivity, and with the reason of it carefully to be transmitted by divine appointment to posterity: "And thou shalt shew thy son in that day, saying, This is done because of that which the Lord did unto me, when I came out of Egypt, And it shall be for a sign unto thee, that the Lord's law may be in thy mouth; thou therefore shalt keep this ordinance."

When Haman, who was of the blood royal of Amaleck, and therefore the natural enemy of Israel, plotted their destruction through the whole Persian empire, and had procured of Ahasuerus a decree for that purpose, God by a very signal interposition cast him into the pit which he had digged, and brought his devises upon his own head, but gave joy and gladness and a good day unto the Jews. Wherefore Mordecai, (no doubt by divine direction,) appointed this preservation to be celebrated annually, with festivity and joy, on the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the month Adar. This was celebrated with thanksgiving and praise to God.

And as the commemoration of God's appearing to the relief of his people under their distresses is of divine appointment; we accordingly find them ascribing the glory to Him. Thus after the destruction of Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea, Moses and the people of Israel give God the praise: "The Lord hath triumphed

gloriously ; the horse and his rider he hath thrown into the sea. The Lord is my strength and my salvation. Thy right hand, O Lord, is glorious in power, and hath dashed in pieces the enemy."

When Deborah and Barak delivered Israel from the oppression of Jabin, King of Hazor, they in their triumphal song give all the glory unto God. "Praise ye the Lord for the avenging of Israel. Lord, when thou wentest out of Seir, when thou marchedst out of the field of Edom, the earth trembled, and the heavens dropped ; the mountains melted before the Lord God of Israel. They fought from heaven, the stars in their courses fought against Sisera, and the river Kisbon swept them away."

And when the Lord with thunder and lightning discomfited the Philistines before his people, who pursued them to the confines of their own country, Samuel took a stone and set it up between Mizpeh and Shen, and called the name of it *Ebenezzer*, saying, "Hitherto the Lord hath helped us."

And what shall I more say ? For the time would fail me to tell of David and of Asa, and of Jehosaphat, and of Hezekias, and of other worthies ; who with the prophets and people of God, gave Him the glory of their preservation under affliction and in distress from enemies. And as the reason of these ascriptions hath always been the same, and the same spirit of gratitude hath rested upon the saints of all succeeding ages ; so the Christian church hath always given to the same God the glory of her preservation, under the numerous evils which have been brought upon her by her enemies—whether men or devils.

And well may the inhabitants of this country join with the church in all preceding times, in giving glory to the God of salvation. For when they were few in number, when they were far from human help, in a howling wilderness, and surrounded with numerous barbarians who thirsted for their blood, and often plotted their destruction ; God, the God of Israel, was their saviour—they trusted in him, and were not ashamed ; and notwithstanding all the attempts of their enemies, whether American or European, are yet a growing peo-

ple. The habitations of cruelty are become a valley of vision. Where Satan was worshipped with horrid rites, the God of Heaven is now adored. The solitary places rejoice, the wilderness blossometh as the rose, and the glory of Sharon is given unto it.

Surely, it was God that brought a vine from far, cast out the heathen before it, planted it, and caused it to take root and fill the land ; so that the hills are covered with the shadow, and the boughs thereof are like the goodly cedars. God grant that the hedges may not be broken down, that it may never be plucked by those that pass by, that the boar out of the wilderness may never waste it, nor the wild beasts devour it ; but may the glory of the Lord be upon it from generation to generation.

But the present assembly calls for a particular address.

Brethren, as through the good hand of our God upon us, we this day see the completion of a century from the incorporation of the town, and have recollected some of the signal mercies of God to our fathers under their numerous afflictions by the enemy, we may with propriety join with Israel of old, and say : "If it had not been the Lord who was on our side, if it had not been the Lord who was on our side, when men rose up against us, then they had swallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled against us. Blessed be the Lord who hath not given us a prey to their teeth." "Our help is in the name of the Lord, who reigns in Zion, head over all things unto his church, and will reign till all opposing rule, authority and power shall be put down, and the time come for delivering the kingdom of God, even the fathers, and for presenting his church without spot, and with exceeding joy before the presence of his glory.

As the church was purchased with his own blood, the Father hath in all ages committed the preservation of it to him, and as Mediator vested him with all power in heaven and earth. In all the afflictions of his people, he was afflicted, in his love and in his pity he redeemed them, he bare them and carried them all the days of old. He was the refuge of our fathers in their distresses. Let

us therefore mention the loving kindnesses of the Lord, and the praises of the Lord, according to all that he hath bestowed upon us, and the great goodness towards the house of Israel, which he hath bestowed according to his mercy, and according to the multitude of his loving kindnesses.

Let the consideration of these things animate us,

1. To a firm and unshaken confidence in him under all adversity.

This is one important end for which the merciful appearance of God for our fathers in their distresses are to be recollected. He commanded our fathers that they should make them known to their fathers that they might set their hope in God.

2. Let these things excite us to a sincere compliance with all his precepts, whether relating to faith or practice.

This also is another important use to be made of them. That they might set their hope in God, and not forget his works, but keep his commandments. And without a sincere regard to divine precepts, our confidence will be presumption, for there is no promise of protection or blessing to such as persevere in disobedience and unbelief.

If ye forget the works of the Lord, and walk not in his way, ye may well expect to be abandoned to all evil. This is evident from the history of Israel. For when Joshua and all that generation were gathered to their fathers, and there arose another generation, who knew not the works of the Lord, which he had done in Israel, they forsook the Lord God of their fathers, and followed after the gods of the people that were round about them, and provoked the Lord to anger. And he delivered them into the hands of spoilers, that spoiled them, and sold them into the hands of their enemies round about, so that they could not stand any longer before their enemies. Whethersoever they went out, the hand of the Lord was against them for evil, as the Lord had said, and as the Lord had sworn unto them, and they were greatly distressed.

Muse therefore, on his wonders of old, and on his

works in the days of your fathers, until the fire shall burn within you, until sacred ardors shall rise in your souls, and animate you to the most cheerful trust and obedience.

Ye are the seed of the blessed of the Lord, and the children of the covenant which he made with them. Fulfil therefore the obligations, as ye expect the blessings of that covenant. Let your hearts be steadfast in it.

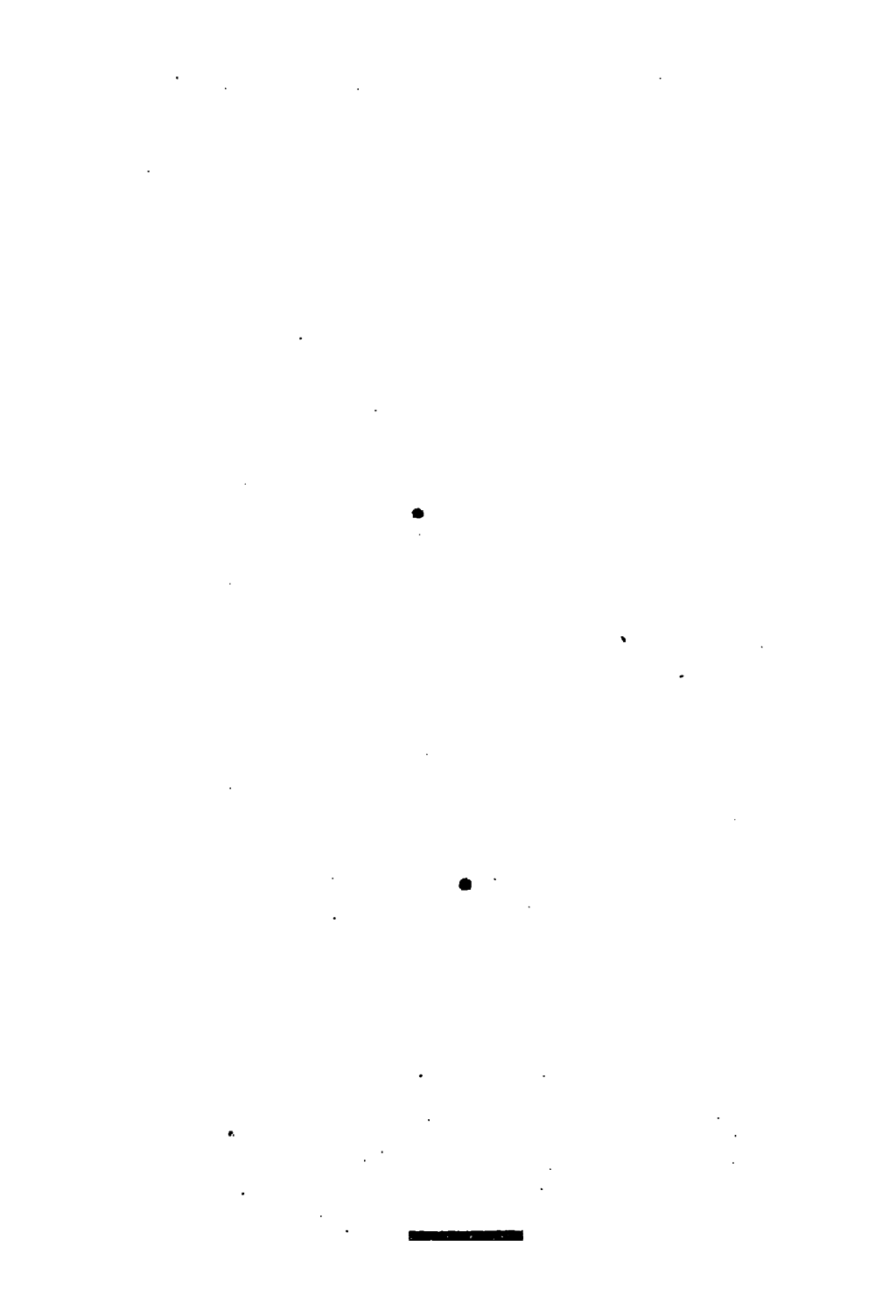
Be ambitious of imitating whatever was excellent in your ancestors; consider from whence ye are fallen. Your works are not perfect before God. "Remember therefore how ye have received and heard, and repent, and strengthen the things that remain and are ready to die."

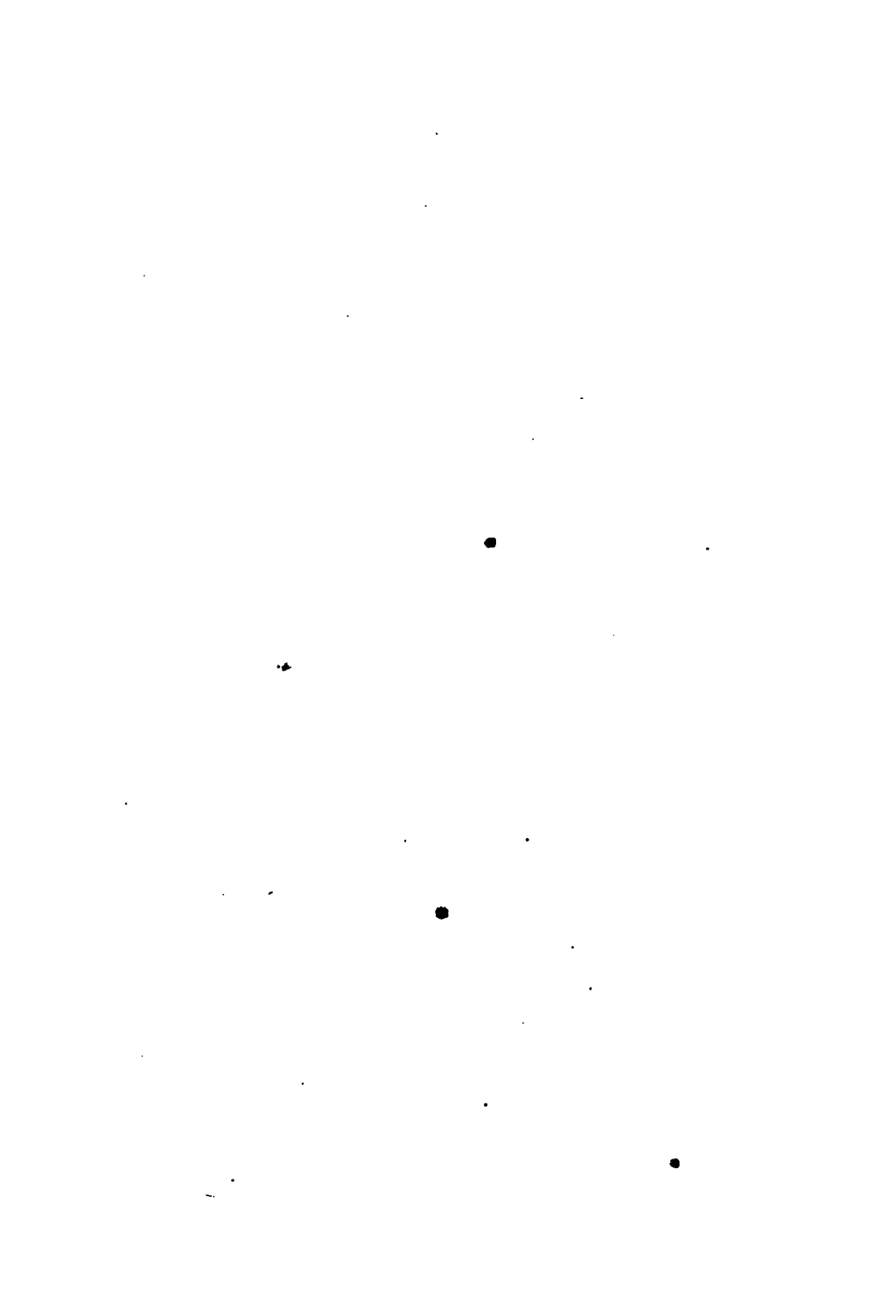
Is not this the voice of your fathers, "And ye our children, know ye the God of your fathers, and serve him with perfect hearts and willing minds; if ye seek him he will be found of you, but if you forsake him he will cast you off forever."

Your fathers bore the heat and burden of the day, they submitted to many hardships and dangers; not only that they might leave you a fair temporal inheritance, as it is this day; but also, what they esteemed infinitely preferable, that they might leave you in the enjoyment of the gospel in its purity. For the sake of this, they ventured their lives in this wilderness. For this, they exposed themselves to perils by sea, to perils in the wilderness, to perils by the heathen, and to various evils.

And ye are risen up in your fathers stead; and prosperity shines in full orb upon you. Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free.

Give commandment to your household, and to your seed after you, to walk in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless, and to do mercy and judgment, that they also may give the same in charge to theirs, from generation to generation, that the divine blessing may be upon them, and the kingdom of God be advanced by them. Amen.









3 2044 011 007 937

should b

THE BORROWER WILL BE CHARGED
AN OVERDUE FEE IF THIS BOOK IS
NOT RETURNED TO THE LIBRARY ON
OR BEFORE THE LAST DATE STAMPED
BELOW. NON-RECEIPT OF OVERDUE
NOTICES DOES NOT EXEMPT THE
BORROWER FROM OVERDUE FEES.

